# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-071
Friday
12 April 1991

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*FBIS-EEU-91-071* *12 April 1991*

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## Anniversary of Hoxha's Death Commemorated

### Alia, PPSh Leaders Pay Respects

*AU1104140591 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Today, on the sixth anniversary of the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha, founder and leader of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh], respects were paid at his grave in the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation.

Groups of working people from the apparatus of the PPSh Central Committee, the Tirana District PPSh Committee, communists, veterans, secretaries of PPSh basic organizations in institutions and ministries, soldiers, and young people came. Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the PPSh Central Committee; Xhelil Gjoni, Spiro Dede, and Abdyl Backa, PPSh Central Committee secretaries; Adil Carcani, Kico Mustaqi, Besnik Bekteshi, and Hekuran Isai, PPSh Central Committee Politburo members; Niko Gjyzari and Llambi Gegprifti, PPSh Central Committee Politburo candidate members; Nexhmije Hoxha, and Shefqet Peci, PPSh Central Committee members; and representatives of the central mass organizations also came to pay homage.

Comrades Ramiz Alia and Adil Carcani laid a wreath in the name of the PPSh Central Committee with an inscription dedicated to the life and work of Comrade Enver Hoxha. PPSh leaders also laid bouquets of flowers at Comrade Enver Hoxha's grave. Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha and other members of the family also laid bouquets. Comrade Ramiz Alia and other comrades stood in silence with fists raised in respect in front of the grave of the legendary commander of the National Liberation War and our unforgotten leader.

During the ceremony, a band performed a funeral march and the national anthem. Soldiers formed a guard of honor. Comrade Ramiz Alia also met and warmly greeted communists and young people, who showed their love for the PPSh and wished him long life for the good of the Albanian people.

### Anniversary Marked in Districts

*AU1104193791*

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 11 April devotes five minutes of its regular 30-minute newscast to reports of ceremonies marking the sixth anniversary of Enver Hoxha's death.

After a report on respects paid at Hoxha's grave by Ramiz Alia and other Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] leaders, the announcer states: "Inhabitants of the town of Gjirokaster, veterans, communists, members and relatives of the families of heroes and martyrs, soldiers, young people, and pioneers of Enver, on today's sixth anniversary of the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha, founder and leader of the PPSh, went to his monument on a prominent hill, paid homage, and laid bouquets of flowers. Manxhar Binaj, first secretary of the District PPSh Committee, and others were present." A meeting is also reported in the house where Hoxha was born, where "discussions were held with veterans and activists of the Women's Union, who recounted their memories of their meetings with Comrade Enver."

The announcer also states: "In front of the bust of Comrade Enver Hoxha in the town of Fier today, working people from the apparatus of the PPSh District Committee paid respects and laid bouquets of flowers." Flowers are also reported to have been laid in front of Hoxha's bust in the "Enver Hoxha" Agricultural Cooperative at Zharrez.

The announcer continues: "Teaching staff and students at the Enver Hoxha United Officers High School, the Military Academy, and other military schools in the capital city paid respects and laid wreaths and bouquets of flowers in front of the monument to the legendary commander of the Antifascist National Liberation War."

The Diber PPSh District Committee is also reported to have organized a "memorial meeting" in Peshkopi, and discussion groups among secondary school pupils on the subject of "Enver Hoxha, leader of the National Liberation War and great warrior for tightening the people's unity" are reported to have been held in Polican and Corovode in Skrapar District.

### Newspaper Honors Hoxha

*AU1104145891 Tirana ATA in English 0840 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Unattributed report from the "Press Review"]

[Text] Under the title "Permanent Honour and Gratitude," the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" carries an editorial devoted to the life and deeds of Enver Hoxha on occasion of the anniversary of his death. The newspaper says that although times have changed, the figure of Enver Hoxha remains completely in the consciousness of the whole nation.

## Media Report on Country's Draft Constitution

*AU1004102491 Tirana ATA in English 0821 GMT 10 Apr 91*

[Text] Tirana, April 10 (ATA) — The press organs carry on April 10 the draft of the constitution of the Republic of Albania compiled by the special commission of the People's Assembly. This draft revised according to the draft of the Constitution published on December 30, 1990 will be given to the deputies of the new People's Assembly which will convene in its first session of the 12th legislature on April 15, 1991.

The draft of the constitution of the Republic of Albania has three parts with 124 articles. The first part has the first chapter entitled "Fundamental Principles" and the second chapter,"The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens". The second part contains the first chapter entitled "The Supreme Organs of the State Power", the second chapter

"The High Organs of the State Administration", the third one "The Defence of the Country and the Armed Forces", the fourth chapter "The Local Power Organs and of the State Administration" and the fifth chapter "The Judirical Organs". The third and last part carries the first chapter entitled "The Constituent Council", the second chapter "The Emblem, Flag, Capital City" and the third and last chapter "Final Provisions".

This draft of the constitution underlines in the first article that Albania is a republic which expresses and defends the interests of the people and supports their unity. Further on it points out that the Republic of Albania is a democratic and juridical state based on social justice, the defence of the human rights and freedoms and on political pluralism. After pointing out that the political parties and other organizations are separated from the state, the 8th article stresses that the state backs up and cooperates with them and creates conditions for their activity ,so that they influence in the state policy through democratic forms. Various organizations can be dissolved in cases defined by law. Whereas the article on the right of property by the foreign person stresses among others that he has the right to create an enterprise of his only in conditions defined by law.

In the second chapter "Fundamental Rights and Duties of the Citizens", the article on the rights of national minorities stresses that the members of national minorities have the right to establish and maintain freely contacts with one another within the country and beyond its borders with nationals of the same nationality in other sates. The state is engaged with the question of emigration, as well as with the defence of the rights of nationals to emigrate. Besides, the article on the free movement of the nationals stresses that the nationals have the right to leave and enter the territory of the Republic of Albania freely. Limitation of this right is conditioned only by law, in special cases, to defend national security, order, the health and public morale or the rights and freedoms of other citizens.

The draft of the constitution underlines also that the activity of political parties in military units and institutions of the Ministry of Defence and Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and our diplomatic representations in other states, prosecutors' offices, investigator' offices and courts is prohibited.

The chapter "The President of the Republic of Albania", after stressing that the president is the head of state and is elected by the People's Assembly for five years through secret ballot, stresses that the same person cannot be elected more than twice in succession. Besides the draft of the constitution stresses that the candidate for president is proposed to the People's Assembly by a group of deputies no less than 30 people and envisages his competences.

The article on the Council of Ministers (the government) as the highest executive and order giving organ points out among the other things that in the first session of the People's Assembly and at any other case when the new government is formed, the chairman of the Council of Ministers presents to the People's Assembly the composition and program of the government, asking for the vote of confidence. In case the government does not get vote of confidence, the chairman of the Council of Ministers immediately presents his resignation to the president of the Republic, who proposes the new chairman of the Council of Ministers. The deputies, it says further on, have the right to present at any time a motion of non confidence towards the Council of Ministers or its separate members. The motion of non confidence should be signed at least by one tenth of deputies and can be examined by the People's Assembly only three after its presentation. [sentence as received] The non approval by the People's Assembly of a proposal forwarded by the government does not bring about the obligatory resignation of the government. The Council of Ministers is made up even of persons who are not deputies.

The third part, first chapter entitled "The Constituent Council" says that this council is made up of nine members, out of whom five are elected by the People's Assembly and four are nominated by the president of the Republic. The Constituent Council is elected for a five year period and its members should be jurists known for their abilities, who have excercised their profession for no less than 10 years in the juridical activity or in higher juridical education. The members cannot be ministers, deputies, members of the People's Councils or members of political parties.

Upon the request of the president of the Republic, the Council of Ministers, the attorney general or one fifth of deputies, the Constituent Council examines the non compliance of laws with the constitution, forwarding to the People's Assembly the respective proposal. In case the Constituent Council proposes the invalidity of laws or its special provisions, the People's Assembly, within two months, should air its view concerning the decision of the Constituent Council, otherwise, the law or its provisions remain into force. The decision of the People's Assembly is endorsed with a majority of two thirds of deputies present. Upon the request of the Council of Ministers, attorney general or the district People's Council, the Constituent Council decides upon non compliance of sub legal acts with the constitution and with the law and sub legal acts of the lower organs with those of higher ones.

## PPSh Proposes Discussion, Cooperation to PDSh

*AU1004105491 Tirana ATA in English 0840 GMT 10 Apr 91*

[Text] Tirana, April 10 (ATA) — On April 8, the Central Committee of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party—

PPSh] proposed to the steering commission of the Democratic Party (DP) [PDSh] that representatives of the two parties meet to discuss and cooperate with regard to the proceedings of the first session of the 12th legislature of the People's Assembly to convene on April 15,1991.

The steering commission of the DP accepted this proposal.

### Opposition's 'Insults' to Peasantry Deplored

*AU1104074791 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Apr 91 p 2*

[Selim Hoxha article: "Do Not Insult the Peasants, Gentlemen"]

[Text] In Pharmacy No. 10 in Tirana, a mother from Babruje was not given medicines merely because she came from a village. In Hospital No. 2, a tetchy doctor said, "Come on, line up, you peasants who voted for the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh]." Some other "citizens" in Tirana, Durres, and Kavaje have threatened individual people from villages, offending and insulting them and even beating them up. Some others have seized their agricultural produce and thrown it in their faces. Why, one wonders? Because they gave their votes to the PPSh. There are not many townspeople of this kind, but the evil is that these people are incited to such behavior by blind political passion.

What happened to all those fine words uttered during the electoral campaign about peasants and the countryside, all that appreciation for their lofty virtues, the contribution they have given, and their courage and wisdom? All these words were true. However, amazingly, two days later these same people, so-called supporters of democracy, have begun to say different things about the peasantry, insulting them and inciting their sympathizers to confrontations with them. Why? Purely and simply because they lost, because the peasants did not agree with their program, and because they simply struck the peasantry as full of hot air. These people wanted the peasants' votes, but not their ideas. The peasants therefore wanted nothing to do with their hot air. Are they to be insulted for this? Let us not forget, however, that the city vote was split, too. When you count your chickens before they are hatched, and when you speculate and deceive, you are no doubt heading for disillusionment. Indeed, the disillusionment was severe.

The Democratic Party [PDSh] pompously announced, "You will vote on 31 March and you will undoubtedly vote for democracy." The peasantry did indeed vote, and voted for democracy, but not for the PDSh. Why do you therefore insult them? To stigmatize the peasantry as ignorant and the most backward part of society is neither national-minded nor polite. What is worse, however, is that this is an assault on national unity, an attempt to alienate the peasantry from their city brothers. Do not forget what you said before, until yesterday. The people will not put up with any insults, and the peasantry will not forget you. The peasantry are not cowards, as the "democrats" claim, but are honest. The people found their own road. They themselves choose by their own will their representatives to the supreme body, the People's Assembly.

### Obstruction Alleged in Delivery of Newspaper

*AU1104153291 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 6 Apr 91 p 2*

[Luan M. Rama article: "Who Does Not Want ZERI I POPULLIT Distributed?!..."]

[Text] In recent days, many citizens wrote letters, msde telephone calls, and sent telegrams to our editorial board, and some have come in person, complaining about disruption, lack of correctness, and irregularities to the point of individual cases of a failure to deliver ZERI I POPULLIT. Not only this, but some distributors of the press have told ZERI I POPULLIT subscribers that "We will no longer deliver this newspaper to you, because we have been subjected to pressure and threats by various unknown people?!!...."

We visited the press distribution point and met some distributors, who were genuinely worried about this, but did not fail to express another worry: "Please," one said, "Do not mention my name, because...."

These people are subjected to pressure and threats in their work. Some of these people are frightened. Of whom? Of the communists? Of genuine democrats? Of those who genuinely aspire to a better and more democratic future? Surely not. A thousand times not. Such a thing has never happened in the half century-old history of this newspaper. So, of whom are they frightened?!...

If there are people who dislike ZERI I POPULLIT, let them dislike it. No one is forcing them to like it. If some people do not want to read it, let them not read it, because there are people who do read it. Nobody, whoever he is and whatever his name may be, has the right to deprive others of what they want, and nobody has the right to exert pressure, issue threats, or to obstruct and sabotage the distribution of a newspaper, whether it be ZERI I POPULLIT, RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE, or REPUBLIKA, etc. Citizens have paid their leks and want their newspapers. This is their right, which some people want to restrict at a time when everybody is shouting about democracy and many people put themselves forward as partisan defenders of freedom and human rights. The state bodies responsible for controlling the distribution of the press must take strong organizational measures to ensure the delivery of newspapers. Meanwhile, we recall that it was only in the dark years of the Nazi-fascist occupation (?!) that people tried to ban and obstruct ZERI I POPULLIT....

## Hunger Strike Begins Over Rights to Earnings

*AU0904192091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 9 Apr 91*

[Text] At 1000 yesterday, 320 cooperativists, cadres, and working people of the Perparim Agricultural Cooperative in the Peqin region of Elbasan District began a hunger strike, demanding the return of their surplus earnings from mechanized labor, because the law used to consider this cooperative a lowland and not a highland cooperative.

The area's deputy, Hysen Meta; Fatmir Gjergji, chairman of the executive committee of the district people's council; and others went to talk to them yesterday. They explained to the cooperativists that these earnings do not belong to them on the basis of the current law. The hunger strikers insisted on their demands and continued their strike.

## Private Initiative in Agriculture Encouraged

*AU1104075191 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 5 Apr 91 p 2*

[Niko Llara article: "Experience That Needs No Dollars"]

[Text] We have long become used to turning to the peasants' market more than to the state stores. You can find everything there, although at high prices, while you can hardly find a single article in the state sector. It was only a few days ago that a peasant was selling olives at the peasants' market of the First District. The price was 3.50 leks per kilogram. He sold his entire stock in a few minutes. A friend and I watched this scene together. We talked about olives and the current poor state of the market. "What do Western countries do," my friend asked, "with their markets always full?" I replied that I did not know what to say, because I have never been abroad; however, I said that we perhaps do not have to travel to learn. We can learn here in Albania. We can learn even from this peasant who puts olives, an item you cannot find anywhere, on the market at the end of March. To learn from his experience, you do not have to spend dollars, hire consultants, or even buy olives. It is experience that needs no dollars.

Should we really learn from these practical-minded peasants? It would be a good idea. It would be a good idea to give them every opportunity to expand their market. Let us merely talk about olives. We long for both olives and olive oil. We have discussed this a lot, and have even written articles and poems and organized mass actions, etc. In spite of our intentions, olive production obstinately refused to double. Should we therefore think about other methods? I think it would do no harm to immediately shift a part of the burden of increasing olive production to the peasants themselves. We have no need to preserve a state monopoly of olives. Let olives become a monopoly of those who know how to grow them and how to increase their production. It would be good to give peasants incentives as soon as possible to grow olives on their land. Of course, the peasants will want to see the "fruits" of their labor quickly. It would therefore be beneficial to give peasants fast-growing olive saplings. Even if we were to give them free of charge, we would not lose. We would benefit all the more in a few years' time. Such saplings are at present produced by the Vlore Olive and Citrus Institute. Let us not forget that almost half the districts of Albania grow olives. It is no exaggeration to say that only the peasants can double olive production at the speed that our olive and olive oil markets want.

## President Zhelev Addresses University Students

### Views Draft Constitution, Presidential Power

*AU1104191891 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1710 GMT 11 Apr 91*

["Excerpt" from lecture by President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev at Sofia Kliment Okhridski University on 11 April—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Hall No. 272 of the Kliment Okhridski University in Sofia was too small for the large audience eager to meet President Zhelev today. The event was organized by the Federation of Independent Students' Organizations and was devoted to the subject: Guarantees for the Change of System in Our Country. The lecture attracted not only university teachers and students but also numerous National Assembly deputies, public figures, and citizens. In his introductory remarks, President Zhelev focused on his recent participation in the Amsterdam Global Panel forum. He described his most interesting personal meetings with distinguished political figures. The president pointed out that the legislature and the government are the chief guarantors of the change of system in our country. He made the following remarks on the country's future constitution:

[Zhelev] The Constitutional Commission at the Grand National Assembly is ready to submit the draft constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria to the plenary session in the legislature no later than tomorrow. Within a week, at the latest, the National Assembly is expected to begin debates on passing the constitution. The current draft is based on six, seven, or eight original drafts submitted by different political parties and by individual citizens. The difference between the various versions is irrelevant. The drafts are coordinated and even coincide on the main issues, a fact that justifies our hopes that the constitution will be adopted more easily and promptly than the Law on the Land.

The basic points of the new constitution can be described as follows: Bulgaria is a republic; on this point there are some discrepancies between the draft versions and different accents. Some drafts lay emphasis on a legislative republic and legislative democracy, while others show a trend toward a presidential republic, or rather a preference for this form. Naturally, the country will remain a legislative republic as a whole.

Regarding this, the new element contained in the draft constitution can be described as a tendency toward strengthening presidential power through direct election of the president by the people. Those who drafted the constitution realize that the situation in our country and in the Balkans, generally speaking, within the next five or ten 10 years, because of the transition to market economy, will be rather difficult and not very peaceful, and that it would be useful under such circumstances to have at least one stable state institution capable of resisting the adversities of fate.

## Discusses Future of National Assembly

*AU1204072391 Sofia BTA in English 0019 GMT 12 Apr 91*

[Evgeniya Drumeva report]

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA)—There is no danger of the Bulgarian Parliament being dissolved before the time, new elections should be held to show the new correlation of forces in society, the present Grand National Assembly is capable of adopting a new democratic constitution, President Zhelyu Zhelev said at his almost two-hour-long meeting with students at the University of Sofia.

The meeting was held at the request of the Federation of Independent Students' Societies, the initiator of the two students' strikes that resulted in President Petur Mladenov's ousting last summer and in the resignation of Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov in the autumn of 1990. However, in one of the questions, certain doubts were expressed that the president had come to see what the students' feelings are and eventually to prevent a possible third strike.

The students received President Zhelev rather cordially, although there were no flowers or loyalty pledges as it had been the case at their meetings with former communist leaders. The students spared their idol of June last year no awkward question and at moments openly declared their disagreement with him.

From the questions which the students addressed to the president it became clear that their main concern is the work of the present parliament, that they want to know when the new elections will be held and what the guarantees are for the irreversibility of the democratic process in the country.

Elections should be held to reveal the actual correlation of forces in society that has changed and is still changing, the president said. In his opinion, however, the present parliament should first pass the new constitution and dissolve itself only after it, thus making it possible to hold elections for an ordinary national assembly. The Grand National Assembly is capable of passing a democratic constitution within a short period of time that they are capable of doing it was proved by the passage of the Land Act although there were much more obstacles to its adoption, the president stated.

In Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's opinion there is no danger of parliament dissolving itself, but he did not answer the question whether he would set a date for partial elections (on which the Bulgarian Socialist Party insists) if part of the opposition faction walks out of parliament on April 19.

Who would benefit from the delay of the democratic process in the country? In reply to this question Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said that in his capacity of president he should restrain from declaring his opinion, because

DUMA (the daily of the Socialist Party) would resume its attacks. The students responded with a loud applause.

However the audience was displeased with the president's answer that in his opinion there had been no "wedge" operation, which he considers to be the creation of a sick mind. In the last days there have been certain publications in the opposition press according to which the foundation of some dissident movements at the time of the former regime had been inspired by the Secret Services.

I consider the declaration of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs unfounded and whether the former leaders would be tried for this or that crime committed by them is part of the respective country's internal affairs in which nobody has the right to intervene, President Zhelev said, replying to a question if the declaration of the Soviet ministry (in which the soviet diplomacy expresses its attitude to the trial of some former East European leaders) did not amount to intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

### Dertliev on Purpose of New SDS-Center Grouping

*AU1104150091 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 11 apr 91*

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA)—The new political formation UDF-Centre [SDS-Center] whose foundation was announced in a joint declaration of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and the Nikola Petkov BZNS has set itself the task to become a strong active group with a marked centrist orientation, a news conference in Sofia was told today. Mr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, and Mr. Nikodim Popov, organizational secretary of the Nikola Petkov BZNS, took part in it.

These two political parties take the lead in the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] with 52 per cent of constituents. They have an image of their own and do not want to mar it. The new formation wants to become the political centre Bulgaria needs and unite the millions of no-party affiliated and independent voters in this country. By establishing the UDF-Centre the two parties wish to counterpoise the small extremist and monarchic parties and groups in the UDF.

The UDF-Centre will remain in the UDF but it is inspired by the thought that it is building the country's future political structure. The new formation will not set up its own parliamentary faction. However, it demands that there should be a preferential list in the next elections which would enable the voters for the UDF to cast their vote for its individual parties as well.

### SDS-Center Gains Political Support

*AU1104192391 Sofia BTA in English 1831 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA) - "The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party will spare no effort to have the parliamentary elections held in June," a declaration made public at the news conference [of the new SDS-center grouping] says. "Our parliamentary group will also insist on the working out of the constitution and the key economic laws. If they are deferred by an immediate parliamentary crisis, the necessary economic and social restructuring in this country will be left pending for an indefinite time, much for the benefit of the ruling nomenklatura. We will not have a dead season at a time calling for new laws," it is stated in the declaration.

The parliamentary groups of Ecoglasnost and the Green Party released a declaration at the same news conference to express their approval of and support for the declaration of the Nikola Petkov BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Party] and the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party. They consider it a move in defense of the democratic principles countering all leftist and pseudorevolutionary activity in the current political life in Bulgaria. "The unification of all opposition forces around parliamentary democracy is the only chance for carrying out reforms in this country and for the change of the political and the economic system. It is a guarantee for winning a final victory over communism in Bulgaria," the declaration states.

### Finance Minister Views Economic Reform Progress

*AU1204082591 Sofia BTA in English 2323 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA)—After the shock the Bulgarian economy is now in intensive care, the Minister of Finance Mr. Ivan Kostov said. He is believed to be the driving force behind the government's economic reform.

Mr. Kostov said in a TV program that the population has repaid loans running up to 1,250,000,000 leva after the base interest rate was raised and price controls were lifted. The first stage of the reform which he defined as monetary was easier for the companies that had stocked up on raw materials. If they manage to sell their products at the new prices, they will do a very good job. The most harmful thing for the enterprises is the shrinkage of markets in connection with the disintegration of the old East European structures.

The condition of the national budget is the same as that of the people: it, too, can hardly make ends meet, Mr. Kostov said. To a great extent this is due to the enterprises' unwillingness to pay their taxes. The budget is being updated now.

Mr. Kostov confirmed the statements of other SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] ministers about attempts to sabotage the reform. Business executives are being "instructed" by members of the previous one-color socialist government. It is generally known that most of the managers of state-owned enterprises belong to the BCP/BSP [Bulgarian Communist Party/Bulgarian Socialist Party] nomenklatura. The Union of Business

Executives (from the state sector) asked for the dismissal of 30 percent of their employees. This was defined as a political move.

"There are people who deliberately sabotage the reform," Mr. Kostov said and gave as an example the "transparent," as he called it, behavior of the economic managers who "puffed up prices" and blamed the rise in the cost of living on the government. "But prices are falling now," the minister says.

"At first the government assumed that the start of the privatization would coincide with the start of the reform. Now we hope the privatization will start by the end of April," Mr. Kostov said. Indirectly referring to criticisms that the reform had started with the decontrol of prices and not with the privatization, the minister pointed out that "the privatization can be carried out only after the passage of the Business Bill and the Bills on Privatization and Foreign Investment." The minister pointed out, "Parliament has not passed these acts although according to the political forces' agreement, which made possible the formation of the government, this should have happened in January and February. The reform began on February 1. The passage of the above-mentioned bills will provide the legal framework for the reform."

Mr. Kostov did not rule out the possibility of general elections in June but evaded the question about their timing. He simply said that any political gestures on the part of the government would bring about the end of the reform and of the coalition government which is working for the time being as an expert one. At a close cabinet meeting the minister of finance urged those who want the reform to end to submit their resignations. The press reported that certain cabinet members, including Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov of the BSP, were asked to resign. Mr. Kostov, however, refused to name names, nor did he commit himself to any predictions as to whether the government would continue to work as before.

Mr. Kostov told a television interviewer that sometimes he felt like the protagonist in a Bulgarian fairytale who was asked by the people to kill the dragon that guarded a spring but they just looked on.

## Housing Crisis of Citizens Returning From Turkey

*AU1204071191 Sofia BTA in English 2334 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA)—By the end of next week the governmental commission will submit to the Council of Ministers a project for the settlement of the problems of the Bulgarian citizens who have come back from Turkey, Mr. Pencho Penev, minister of justice, told parliament today replying to interpellation. The problems arose after the mass exodus of Bulgarian citizens to Turkey in the summer of 1989. Forced by the former regime to change their names, the ethnic Turks went to Turkey on a "mass trip," as the official definition of the regime goes.

Part of the home-comers are now left houseless. Some of them sold their houses or flats before starting for Turkey and now their housing has other owners. Some of the cases have been referred to court. The housing problems made more than 1,000 people go on hunger strike, an MP of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms reminded when addressing his interpellation to the minister of justice. The MP stressed that the problems became even more complicated because the previous governments constantly postponed their solution.

Minister Penev explained that 2,080 housing complaints had been lodged, 1,035 had been already considered and the claims made therein were satisfied. But these data are constantly changing because Bulgarian citizens are still coming back from Turkey, the minister pointed out.

## Assembly Declaration on Relations With NATO

*AU1204071591 Sofia BTA in English 2351 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA)—Bulgaria declares her readiness to develop and deepen her relations with NATO and the West European Union (WEU) in view of her gradual association with these organizations depending on the pace of the advancement of the political processes in Europe, it is said in the declaration adopted today by the National Security Committee of the Grand National Assembly.

The declaration expresses the country's resolution to promote its relations with its neighbors and other countries on a new contractual and legal basis that would be in line both with all national interests and the contemporary tendencies in Europe. Bulgaria is ready to make her contribute constructively to the building of an efficient collective-security system on the continent.

The declaration, which will be submitted for discussion to the Bulgarian Parliament, stresses the necessity of taking efficient measures to guarantee the country's national security for the sake of preserving peace and stability in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world.

At the news conference of the Atlantic Club held here today this recently founded organization expressed its desire to help along Bulgaria's integration into the all-European structures and to popularize this movement.

## Food Import Duties Lifted; Export Duties Fall

*AU1104145691 Sofia BTA in English 1418 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA)—Today Bulgaria's Council of Ministers lifted import duties on the following foodstuffs for the period April 1 October 1: Sugar, vegetable

oil, margarine, legumes, rice, macaroni, milk and milk products, baby food, yeast, citric acid, citrus fruits, condiments, and potatoes.

Detergents, children's clothes, fodder, medicines, farming equipment, pesticides, fertilizers, toilet paper and hygiene materials are also exempt from import duty under the government's decree.

The cabinet lowered the 30 percent export duty on foodstuffs and other goods to 20 percent. Some brands of cow's-milk cheese will be exported free.

## Lilov, Mladenov, Dzhurov Testify at Zhivkov Trial

*AU1104163491 Sofia BTA in English 1537 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA)—Today's hearing of the Zhivkov-Balev case was a "full-house" one. Earphones on his head, Bulgaria's former number one listened attentively to the evidence given by his former aides, now witnesses. Nearly the whole top echelon of the party testified today.

The sensation some circles expected did not materialize. However Mr. Stanko Todorov, a former long-serving Politburo member, prime minister and National Assembly chairman, confirmed that Todor Zhivkov ruled Stalin-style.

Zhivkov's opinion had carried the greatest weight in decision-taking and whenever there was some "hitch" meetings were put off so that he could have things his own way.

Mr. Dobri Dzhurov defense minister for thirty years and almost as many years a Politburo member, said that he subscribes to all decisions concerning Zhivkov taken by the Socialist Party after Zhivkov's ouster, including the declaration admitting the responsibility of the Socialist Party. He believes that these assessments can be made more specific. However, Mr. Dzhurov thinks that the period in question is too recent to venture any comment.

Asked if Zhivkov was involved in his dismissal from the leading posts he had held the former Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), Mr. Aleksandur Lilov said this was an internal problem of the party. Mr. Lilov, now chairman of the Socialist Party, was member of the Politburo and of the Secretariat of the former Central Committee of the BCP from 1972 to 1983.

Asked whether Zhivkov was a dictator, Mr. Lilov answered that everyone has an individual style of his own, but people had the possibility of voicing their opinion at Politburo meetings.

Mr. Petur Mladenov, long-serving foreign minister of Zhivkov's regime, and Mr. Chudomir Aleksandrov, ousted by Zhivkov himself from the former Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, also testified today.

Answering questions about former privileges such as personal allowances and money for food, all five witnesses denounced the secrecy surrounding these privileges.

They advanced the opinion that the leaders of all countries are entitled to such allowances and services.

## FRG Foreign Minister Continues Official Visit

### Dienstbier: 'No Obstacles' to German Treaty

*LD1104164291 Prague CTK in English 1454 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Prague April 11 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said today that the future Czechoslovak-German treaty was not paid much attention during his talks with his German counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher today as no obstacles to an early signing of the treaty existed.

He strongly criticized reports on alleged demands raised by Sudeten Germans (transferred from Czechoslovakia to Germany after World War II under the Potsdam agreements), adding that treaties between states are negotiated by the governments and not by groups of citizens. He said the two sides exchanged the draft texts of the treaty and only technicalities remained to be settled.

Commenting on his half-hour tete-a-tete meeting with Genscher and subsequent talks between Czechoslovak and German delegations, Dienstbier said they dealt with European security and ways of strengthening the institutions of the Helsinki process. He said experts from both countries will explore the possibility of submitting a joint proposal at the June meeting of the foreign ministers of The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) member states in Berlin.

Dienstbier said he agreed with Genscher that it is extremely important for the West that democratic and economic transformations in Central and Eastern Europe should succeed.

### 'Prague Thesis' Agreed Upon

*LD1104182791 Berlin ADN in German 1715 GMT 11 Apr 91*

["Text" of "Prague Thesis" agreed upon by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Prague; date not given]

[Text] Prague (ADN)— 1. Being open to membership by the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe corresponds to the importance of the European Communities for the future of Europe.

2. The security and stability of the states of Western Europe is closely linked to the success of the democratic and economic changes in the states of Central and Eastern Europe.

3. It is important for all of Europe to expand the CSCE process on the basis of the Paris Charter for a new Europe, and to provide it with new institutions.

4. It is our common goal to guarantee stability in Europe in a comprehensive sense. This also means economically, ecologically and in the area of security policy.

5. The European Community and the Council of Europe are of great significance for stability in Europe. NATO and the Western European Union will continue to play an important role.

6. The trans-Atlantic dimension—i.e., close cooperation with the United States and Canada—will continue to be indispensible for Europe's stability.

7. The European peace-time order we aim for includes the Soviet Union, which will continue to fulfill an important role in developments on our continent. The border that divided Europe must not be moved to the western Soviet border.

8. The states of Central and Eastern Europe should find their stability and place in Europe within the framework of pan-European institutions and on the basis of bilateral agreements.

9. The Czechoslovak memorandum on security in Europe represents a significant contribution to the continuation of such developments in Europe.

10. Both foreign ministers agree that the 19-20 June meeting of CSCE foreign minister in Berlin is of decisive significance for the creation of the new European security structure. They agreed to develop joint proposals for this meeting.

### Genscher Visits Ill Havel

*LD1104191891 Prague CTK in English 1458 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Prague April 11 (CTK)—German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher made a brief call today on Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel who is suffering from a light form of influenza.

Havel's indisposition was the reason for cancelling his official program at Prague Castle today, according to the president's office.

### Visit Ends; 'Excellent' Relations Hailed

*LD1104172991 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Excerpts] FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher ended his brief official visit to Prague today. Before his departure he briefed journalists at the airport about the content and results of his talks. Here is Olga Jerabkova with a more detailed report:

[Jerabkova] [passage omitted] Property claims presented by expelled Sudetan Germans are among questions that remain open in mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and Germany. Responding to repeated questions from journalists, Minister Genscher said that this issue was not on the agenda of today's talks. He stressed that these issues will be discussed in the foreseeable future by special commissions of both sides. He described current Czechoslovak-German relations as excellent, and in this context he went on to say:

[Begin Genscher recording in German, fading into superimposed Czech translation] Both Germany and Czechoslovakia will be expanding their political dialogue at all levels. We wish to develop regional cooperation and create joint borders which will go beyond the framework of infrastructures, and intensify cultural exchange. [end recording]

[Jerabkova] Apart from a draft treaty, Ministers Dienstbier and Genscher discussed questions concerning all-European cooperation and security. They summed up the conclusions of their talks in 10 points, which Minister Genscher called a Prague theses. They will be of fundamental importance not only for the development of Czechoslovak-German relations, but for the relations among the peoples of Europe. The period of denationalization in Central and Eastern Europe must be bridged, Minister Genscher stressed, and added: We Europeans have a chance now and we must not waste it. In this context he noted the importance of the coming conference of foreign minsiters of the countries, signatories of the Helsinki process, which is due to take place in Berlin in June this year.

## Deputy Foreign Minister Palous on Cuban Relations

*LD1104131891 Prague CTK in English 0903 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Miami April 11 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia will keep a certain level of communication with the present Cuban Government, Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Martin Palous has told CTK in Miami, Florida.

He said the reasons included the need to discuss the possibilities of trading in U.S. dollars and repayment of the Cuban debt to Czechoslovakia which by now amounts to 10,000 million crowns.

Another reason is to keep an eye on the development on the island and the inner opposition. Certain reforms of the present regime cannot be ruled out.

Last but not least is the tradition of Czechoslovak-Cuban relations. However, this does not mean that Czechoslovakia would ignore the issue of human rights in Cuba, Palous said.

In relations between Czechoslovakia and Cuba it is necessary to differentiate between the economy and politics. Czechoslovakia has to form its own balanced and long-term foreign policy and diplomacy based especially on moral principles, Palous said.

Palous gave a lecture at the University of Miami which was organized by the university's Institute for Soviet and East European Studies, headed by Professor Jiri Valenta. It was attended by Floridian businessmen, intellectuals, Cuban exiles, Czech and Slovak compatriots and students. They asked questions about the progress of economic reform and privatization in Czechoslovakia and opportunities for economic contacts between Florida and Czechoslovakia.

## Havel on Life of President, Bratislava Incident

*AU1004182291*

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 6 April on pages 1 and 3, under the headline "Rest Combined With Distress," publishes a 1,800-word interview with Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, and his wife Olga, by NARODNA OBRODA reporter Jan Repka. The interview took place in Stary Smokovec (Slovakia) "last week." Havel speaks about the difficulty of relaxing because even when away and alone, he is anxious about what is happening in his absence. He says his "rest is always combined with a certain distress about all that he cannot do." Next, he speaks about the struggle within himself for, on the one hand, he longs to be an ordinary person, and on the other hand, he must comply with certain conventions.

Olga replies to a question about their former frequent sojourns in the countryside that she misses it mostly physically—the manual work and walks. Havel adds that he put on some weight as a result of the change in the lifestyle. Asked about the walks in Tatras, Olga speaks of her love for mountains and Havel says that it might be difficult to make him go on a hike but once he sets off, he would not stop. They single out the Easter mass in a small village church as the best experience of their holiday, despite the fact, as Havel says, that he is not a practicing Catholic. He liked the holiday but finds that some of the modern architecture in the Tatras does not suit the environment. Olga speaks also of her visit in the home for handicapped children in Spissky Stiavnik. She says that visiting this home was her duty as a member of the Good Will Committee.

The interviewer wonders whether the recent incident (when Havel and his retinue were physically attacked at a nationalist demonstration) influenced their opinion on the Slovaks.

(Havel) "I am not an over-sensitive person; therefore, even the March incident in Bratislava has not changed my feelings for the Slovaks. I was taken aback by something else, and that has nothing to do with my person. People in the streets are shouting fascist and antisemitic slogans, and I would have expected that the Slovak side would condemn this more clearly. Frantisek Miklosko took a good stand, and several other politicians joined in, but I have an impression that some political forces stayed out of it. The fact is that fascist tendencies appeared in Bratislava, and it is in the interest of Slovakia itself that it shows its strength in dealing with this problem. I am convinced that 99.9 percent of Slovaks certainly are not fascists and such displays are alien to them. That is precisely why these negative phenomena that gained a wide publicity through my presence in Bratislava should have provoked a much stronger defensive reaction of the national organism. I would like to stress that I do not consider the fanatical youth from the Square to be the ones responsible. The guilty ones are those who infect and mobilize them. In addition, even today I feel that the general information about the event in Slovak media has not been satisfactory."

The final question in the interview concerns the controversial sales tax on the periodical press and recently announced subsidies for some periodicals. According to Havel, the press should not be divided to those subsidized by the government and those without a subsidy. "Either the tax must be reduced to provide space for the periodicals that are unable to subsist on their own but are of importance for national culture, or the subsidies must be granted by some organization independent from the government." Moreover, Havel says, "I believe that all press should be independent." He goes on comparing the self-supporting dailies, the content of which loses its relevance next day with the scholarly journals that cannot sustain themselves but are a part of national culture. Hence, Havel says, a system must be found that would enable these journals to survive but did not at the same time contradict the market economy too sharply.

### Democratic Alliance Urges New Assembly Presidium

*LD1104174691 Prague CTK in English 1259 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Prague April 11 (CTK)—The Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) wants the Federal Assembly to elect a completely new Presidium, ODA Deputy Chairman Daniel Kroupa told a press conference organized by the ODA and the Club of Non-Party Members (KAN) here today.

Kroupa said he did not rule out a coalition between ODA and the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), headed by finance minister and radical economic reform architect Vaclav Klaus, in the next parliamentary election. Currently the closest ODA partner is KAN, he said.

ODA Deputy Jan Stern warned that the land bill will not be passed unless the deputies of the Democratic Right and the Civic Movement (the liberal wing of the former Civic Forum) are prepared to compromise. The ODA will support the draft which is acceptable for the majority of deputies except the Communists.

### Devaty on StB's Links With Slusovice Farm

*AU1104204391*

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 8 April on page 2 carries a 400-word CTK report on an interpellation addressed by Stanislav Devaty, deputy to the Federal Assembly for the Civic Forum, to Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos, concerning links between the well-known Slusovice agricultural cooperative and the former StB [secret police]. Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 9 April on pages 1 and 2 carries a 450-word interview with Stanislav Devaty by a "nel"-signed LIDOVE NOVINY reporter, in which Devaty explains the background of his interpellation.

In the interpellation, which he classifies as "particularly urgent" (which means that Interior Minister Langos must reply to it within a week), Devaty maintains that a "collective agreement on cooperation" between the Slusovice management and the "First StB Administration—that is, intelligence," was concluded "a few years ago." Thanks to this agreement, Slusovice reportedly gained a number of economic advantages, such as "duty-free imports, imports of embargoed goods, and scientific findings, particularly in the field of biotechnology." According to Devaty, who used to be a Slusovice employee himself, the First StB Administration used to provide the cooperative with "research findings and samples of material which it managed to steal abroad, which were subsequently presented as results of Slusovice research." The deputy claims that this cooperation continued until the fall of 1990. He also contends that former StB officers continue to work in Slusovice and its subsidiaries and that investigators into criminal activities involving former Slusovice managers are receiving "anonymous letters and phone calls, in which they are threatened with physical liquidation if the investigations continue." Devaty asks why the Czech Ministry of Interior has failed to respond to the request of these investigators for "personal protection."

In the interview for LIDOVE NOVINY of 9 April, Devaty gives an example of the fraudulent business practices engaged in by Slusovice managers. He says that last year a Slusovice plant sold metal pallets to the Beta Zlin cooperative, "in the management of which sit former Slusovice functionaries," at 1,590 korunas [kcs] apiece. This year the Slusovice cooperative repurchased these pallets at kcs3,800 apiece. According to Devaty, Slusovice managers gained kcs3.3 million from the transaction. Devaty reiterates his charge, expressed in the interpellation, that Alexej Zak, the investigator of the aforementioned transaction, is being threatened with "physical liquidation."

In the interview, Devaty also provides evidence for his claim that dismissed StB officers have found jobs in the Slusovice cooperative and its subsidiaries. These reportedly include Colonel V. Laucky, former chief of the first department of the StB Administration in Brno; Colonel K. Belatka, former chief of the sixth department of the StB Administration in Brno; Colonel V. Kilian, former chief of the Fifth Administration of the Federal Ministry of Interior; and Major J. Vyoralek, former "political officer" of the National Security Corps District Administration in Zlin.

### Slovak Parties Agree on Draft Slovak Constitution

*LD1104175991 Prague CTK in English 1302 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Bratislava April 11 (CTK)—All partners in the Slovak coalition government reached agreement yesterday to submit one draft of the Slovak constitution to the Slovak National Council (parliament), Central Secretary of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Jan Petrik told journalists today.

He said that political groupings in Slovakia have united on the question of the settlement of Czech-Slovak relations, on a treaty between the Slovak and Czech republics, and on the drafting of new constitutions. This

unanimity has apparently taken the Czech public by surprise. (The KDH itself was the first to propose the treaty as the basis of the federal state.)

Petrik said the constitution drafts are to be presented to the Slovak parliament by April 15. They will be worked into one blueprint which will be presented for public discussion by May 1.

The KDH is a member of the Slovak government along with the Democratic Party and three groups which were originally part of the Public Against Violence movement (VPN): VPN, VPN-For Democratic Slovakia, and the Hungarian Independent Initiative.

KDH official Jozef Chren, Slovak minister for trade and tourism, voiced support for the idea of making Bratislava an international trade centre. However, he was opposed to the Slovak capital being turned into a free-trade zone because, he said, it would involve many risks.

## Czech Minister Denies Slovak Minister's Claims

*AU1104200191*

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 10 April on page 2 carries an 800-word statement by CSFR Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay entitled "Really 22 Million?" In the statement Baksay responds to the article by Slovak Industry Minister Jan Holcik, in which Holcik claimed that the withholding of an export permit by the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade deprived Slovak enterprises of 22 million korunas' worth of revenues and, consequently, damaged the Slovak budget. Holcik used this example to illustrate the "untenable situation" in Czechoslovak foreign trade, which continues to be controlled from Prague.

In his statement, Baksay accuses Holcik of having used "imprecise or even deliberately false data."

First, Baksay explains that the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade is not able to abolish the 1990 decree banning exports of oil-based products, as demanded by Holcik, because—under Article 16, Section "D" of the law on the division of powers—his ministry cannot issue or amend decrees (As Baksay points out, it is now necessary to pass laws to regulate the area of foreign trade). Baksay contends that, despite this constraint, his ministry was "very quick" in accommodating Slovak demands and in granting the Slovak Petrimex foreign trade enterprise a special permit for the export of 50,000 tonnes of diesel and heating fuel. The relevant permit was issued on 19 March, "and not after three weeks" as claimed by Holcik.

Baksay also challenges Holcik's calculation. He says that between 11 and 22 March, the price of diesel fuel on the world markets actually rose (Baksay quotes the relevant figures for major European markets to prove this point), while the price of heating oil was "constant" throughout the period in question. The Slovak side therefore could not have suffered any loss from the delayed sale. According to Baksay, if Holcik's figures were right, the price of oil products would have to plummet by $15.08 per tonne between 11 and 22 March. This would amount to a "revolution on the world oil market."

In the remaining part of his statement, Baksay reviews his ministry's activities in liberalizing foreign trade. In this context he mentions that, while the Czech government endorsed his ministry's proposal for a new, far more liberal, foreign trade law, the Slovak government turned it down. This shows, according to Baksay, "who it is that supports bureaucracy in central bodies."

In conclusion, Baksay appeals to Holcik to enter into a dialogue with him, instead of engaging in a "monologue through the mass media."

## Controversy Surrounding Ambassador Zwack Continues

### Foreign Minister Interviewed on Affair

*AU1104205491 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Apr 91 p 3*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Oszkar Fuzes on the telephone from Oslo; date not given: "Jeszenszky: Let Us Not Argue in the Press"]

[Text] [Jeszenszky] I was shocked by the interview with Peter Zwack, because—I can speak as a historian, or I can refer to the case of Mark Palmer, the U.S. ambassador to Budapest until recently—it is without precedent for an ambassador to make such a statement about his foreign minister in the press. This is a very unfortunate affair. Naturally, I will argue with everything Mr. Zwack said to the MAGYAR HIRLAP, however, the National Assembly's Foreign Committee for example is a more suitable place to do this, than the press.

[Fuzes] Is it true that—according to Mr. Zwack—he had been recalled because of "irreconcilable political differences"?

[Jeszenszky] No. If anything like that had been in the background, then the ambassador would have resigned. I repeat, I will not evade the important questions mentioned in the interview, but it is not advisable to talk about them in public, especially not on the telephone and from abroad. Mr. Zwack's behavior is very strange to say the least.

[Fuzes] After all this, will Mr. Zwack remain in Washington until the summer, the original time of his recall?

[Jeszenszky] This again is one of those questions that is not expedient for me to answer at a short notice and on the telephone. I will add that, for arguments sake, should Mr. Zwack resign, then he could argue it out in peace as a Hungarian citizen. Although, I cannot recall, for example, Mark Palmer doing anything similar.

[Fuzes] Mr. Zwack promised MAGYAR HIRLAP that he would continue the "story". How about you?

[Jeszenszky] I would do it in the appropriate places that take our country's interests into consideration.

### Zwack on Reasons Behind Recall

*AU1204082391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Apr 91 pp 1,3*

[Report on interview with Ambassador to Washington Peter Zwack by Peter Sereny in Washington on 8 April: "Interview With the Departing Hungarian Ambassador in Washington"]

[Excerpts] "I think [Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall is a brilliant politician and, precisely because of the relationship between Jozsef Antall and [Foreign Minister] Geza Jeszenszky, if I were the prime minister, I would see to it that Geza Jeszenszky steps downs as soon as possible"—Peter Zwack told the NEPSZABADSAG reporter on 8 April, following his public demand for the resignation of the foreign minister, whom he regards as unsuitable for the post.

In his almost one-hour-long interview with our reporter, Peter Zwack made it clear that, despite the official, professional explanations, the current "affair" is political in nature, both in his personal conflict with Counselor Eniko Bollobas and in his now-public debate with the foreign minister.

Despite his refusal to comment on the affair last week to avoid any deterioration in the emerging favorable Hungarian image in the United States, Peter Zwack told NEPSZABADSAG that some official offensive statements made in Hungary about him forced him to speak up. [passage omitted]

Peter Zwack admits that he "dug his own grave" when he asked that the previous embassy counselor—whom he did not know—be recalled. Besides, according to Peter Zwack, he did it "on Jeszenszky's orders." Peter Zwack also asked to keep this counselor on board until he trained Eniko Bollobas (who had not worked as a diplomat before); however, the new counselor did not want to come to Washington while her predecessor was still there. Peter Zwack admits today that once he recognized his mistake, in that Bollobas was making separate contact with the Foreign Ministry behind his back, and the foreign minister was receiving information about Zwack's activity from her report, he made a further mistake in being slow to ask for Bollobas' dismissal. [passage omitted]

As for the statements concerning his professional ability, Peter Zwack said that everyone knew in advance that he had never been a diplomat. This is precisely the reason why he needed an experienced second man in the embassy. According to Peter Zwack, he asked to replace Eniko Bollobas with someone else, but this request was not granted by the foreign minister. Zwack said that he knew now that he had made a mistake in accepting the situation as it was.

In his lengthy discussion with this NEPSZABADSAG reporter, Peter Zwack stressed that in addition to politically oriented personal debates, he also had differences of views with the foreign minister on foreign policy issues. Asked why he did not resign, Peter Zwack replied that he felt his place was here and that time was working for him because Jeszenszky would not stay in his position for a long time. [passage omitted]

The Jeszenszky-Zwack conflict culminated with the famous arms sales to Croatia. Peter Zwack said now the following about this affair: "I openly told Jeszenszky that I did not agree with the way this affair was handled.

*There was tangible* concern among the U.S. leaders concerning this affair." [passage omitted]

According to Peter Zwack, Jeszenszky has not been on speaking terms with him since the aforementioned arms sales affair. Things deteriorated so much that, prior to the foreign minister's latest visit to Santa Barbara, California, the Hungarian ambassador was instructed to cancel his participation in the Hungarian Week organized there and to send Eniko Bollobas instead. In Zwack's view, the foreign minister placed him in such an impossible situation because he did not want to personally announce his dismissal. [passage omitted]

Peter Zwack now also disclosed that when the possibility of his dismissal emerged in February, U.S. Congressman Tom Lantos wrote a letter to Prime Minister Jozsef Antall saying that U.S. officials' impressions of the new Hungarian ambassador there were quite good, and therefore his dismissal would not be a fortunate step. Peter Zwack added that Jeszenszky's "personal vendetta" would inevitably harm Hungary's interests and the Hungarian Government's credibility, because the first ambassador of the new Hungarian democracy is leaving his post as quickly as the last Hungarian ambassador of the old regime. [passage omitted]

## State Secretary Katona Interviewed

*AU1104211391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Apr 91 p 3*

[Interview with Foreign Ministry State Secretary Tamas Katona by Csaba Nagy at the National Assembly on 8 April: "Katona: I Regret What Happened"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] After repeated developments and statements in connection with the recalling of our ambassador in Washington, Peter Zwack, our reporter called upon Tamas Katona in the National Assembly. Tamas Katona is currently substituting for Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, who is abroad.

[Nagy] Mr. Katona! What is your opinion about our ambassador in Washington publicly calling for our foreign minister's resignation?

[Katona] It is always unfortunate when internal dirty laundry is washed in public. This is good neither for the Hungarian Embassy nor for the Foreign Ministry. It would have been more correct to keep these problems inside. In fact, Foreign Affairs Ministry Spokesman Janos Herman has already said everything that our ministry had to say about this affair. It is very difficult to add anything to this. The rest is partly accusations and partly guesswork.

[Nagy] Are there no consequences whatsoever when an ambassador calls for the resignation of his own minister?

[Katona] What other retaliation could we initiate, in addition to what has already been decided—namely, to replace Peter Zwack....

[Nagy] Mr. Zwack claimed that Mr. Jeszenszky was the one who violated the tacit agreement when he made tangential reference to the reasons behind recalling Mr. Zwack.

[Katona] This was a tacit agreement between the two, and I was not present at the time. It is their business to clear things up between themselves. All I can say is that I very much regret that all this happened, no matter who is to blame, because this could have been clearly avoided.

[Nagy] Does this mean that everything stays the same until summer and Peter Zwack will continue in his position until then?

[Katona] Yes, this is correct.

[Nagy] We learned that our former ambassador in Paris, Mr. Rezso Palotas, requested an audience from you. Has this meeting taken place? If so, what did you talk about?

[Katona] Your information is correct. Mr. Palotas wanted to tell us his own version and information about the Hungarian House in Paris. I am extremely grateful to him that he also informed me, because I had very superficial information about this affair. Now I think that I received information from both sides and, thus, I will be able to come up with a more useful decision.

[Nagy] In your view, are there any bases for Mr. Palotas' suspicion that the plans to sell the Hungarian House in Paris do not necessarily serve state interests?

[Katona] We did not talk about suspicions. He told me about his own experience about this issue. All this was quite new for me because I was not in office at the time. I repeat that I am very grateful for it.

[Nagy] Did the latest cabinet meeting deal with affairs connected with the Foreign Ministry?

[Katona] The government will meet on 11 April. I will know more after this meeting, because I will represent the Foreign Ministry at this meeting.

## Editorial Analyzes Ambassador's Recall

*AU1204092491 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Apr 91 p 7*

[Pal Bokor editorial: "Stumble"]

[Text] The ambassador is dishing out, the minister is keeping quiet, and other interested parties are smiling. In a way, everybody is right. The head of Hungary's diplomatic mission in Washington is disappointed and his pride has been hurt; because of his unpreparedness, the ambassador did not—and could not have—respected the rules of diplomatic etiquette, rules that he could not have

learned as a businessman, rules that would have been binding for any professional diplomat in a similar situation. The ambassador should somehow have made sure, however, that his departure did not resemble that of a dismissed bellboy.

The minister is keeping mum. He has good reasons to steer clear of the intellectual mudslinging that an argument of this kind would entail; he is entitled to lie low until the usual jokes are cracked at diplomatic receptions.

Other interested parties have reasons to be cheerful.

It sometimes happens that a new government dismisses one of its most important diplomats after a few months; however, it is quite rare for the ambassador in question to subsequently call for the resignation of the country's foreign minister. If we disregard crises—revolutions, coups, or government crises at home—this affair is practically unique in the history of international relations.

Some people will perhaps speak in a tragic tone of the vicissitudes of Peter Zwack's diplomatic career, and of the strange departure of Hungary's ambassador in Washington, but no tragedy has occurred.

Hungarians in the United States will not be pleased, that is true, and perhaps they will do what they have failed to do on more serious occasions: They might dig out their hatchets and defend Peter Zwack. From the Unicum liquor owners' point of view, that is not a worthless gesture—after all, Zwack will somehow have to recover the U.S. citizenship he sacrificed at the altar of Hungarian diplomacy. The fact that the departing ambassador failed to achieve success through the emigrant community's solidarity, however—a success made conceivable after the change of regime—greatly reduces the value of that solidarity.

It would be pointless to study the divergences that cropped up between the ambassador and the Foreign Ministry, or between the ambassador and his own deputy, but not because the ministry has decided that these studies should be carried out by the National Assembly's foreign affairs committee; given that these squabbles have now been publicized—through the fault of one or both sides—it would be preferable to acknowledge that the condemning of Jeszenszky for the "crimes" listed by Peter Zwack is not a cabinet affair, nor is it, strictly speaking, a parliamentary affair.

Naturally, the public washing of political dirty linen can sometimes be "distasteful," as Peter Zwack's adversaries would say (with some justification); however, that does not mean that stains are washed away. Neither the National Assembly's foreign affairs committee nor other experts will be able to determine whether Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky really made his original mistake when he expressed his wish to meet with a famous Democratic politician [Dukakis] before his meeting with President Bush, or whether Peter Zwack is really responsible for the size of the cash contribution made by the United States to Hungary.

Nevertheless, all the interested parties will probably agree on much more fundamental issues. It was a mistake to appoint an amateur diplomat to one of Hungary's most responsible diplomatic posts. It was a mistake to appoint an amateur diplomat as first counselor to assist this ambassador. It was a mistake to announce the recall four months before the ambassador's departure; not even a career diplomat could work successfully under such circumstances. Finally, it was a mistake—or it would be a mistake—to insist that Peter Zwack should complete his "period of notice," given that the ambassador has personally admitted that he can no longer represent his country. The ambassador is wrong in thinking that he can represent his country against the requirements of his own position. Not even the United States could accept that.

The Zwack affair is understandably a serious inconvenience for the government. It is no less of an inconvenience for the nation; however, it would be far worse if somebody tried to initiate a government crisis on the basis of this inconvenience. Indeed, the aforementioned mistakes, and other errors linked to the Zwack affair, signal some almost inevitable aberrations and stumbles that Hungary's foreign policy will make in its search for new avenues.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry could use this affair as an opportunity to revise its tactics concerning anything from U.S.- Hungarian relations to the new uncertainties in Eastern Europe, and it could take this opportunity to draw the necessary conclusions.

Slowly but surely, the government should acknowledge the fact that, from a professional point of view, Hungary's foreign affairs are not being conducted in a reassuring way. This is not primarily a question of Geza Jeszenszky's personality, but of the things that clearly transpired from the events at Hungary's embassy in Washington: Politics have started to predominate over diplomacy in our foreign policy management, and the people who—from the start—believed that this represented a danger for Hungary have been proven right.

Long lists are being drafted of Zwack's possible successors, and I could personally think of at least 10 excellent Hungarian diplomats who could be appointed to Washington—their local knowledge, experience, and loyalty would raise hopes of a guaranteed success. It is also the government's right to be represented in Washington by a bank official instead of a businessman this time; the government could make that choice for precisely the same reasons as it chose to throw Zwack into deep waters in this case. The government should also deliberate whether Washington D.C. is the right place to experiment with dilettantish ideas.

In itself, the Zwack affair is simply a stumble that cannot be of determining importance, not even from the point

of view of Hungary's image in the United States. We definitely need a reassuring settlement of this conflict and a drawing of consequences to make sure that this affair does not look like a series of stumbles for Hungary's foreign policy.

## MSZMP To Form 'Left-Wing Unity Movement'

*LD1204085791 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0430 GMT 12 Apr 91*

[Text] According to information obtained by NEPSZABADSAG, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] is to split into two parties. According to the report a group opposed to the leadership, headed by Gyula Thurmer, is preparing to secede under the name Left-Wing Unity Movement [Baloldali Egyseg Mozgalom]. The leader is expected to be Laszlo Udvarhelyi, presently the number-two man in the MSZMP, and Janos Berecz, the once-Central Committee member of the old MSZMP, too will join the new group.

## FIDESZ Seeks Early Start to 6-Party Talks

*LD1104133691 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Of the various parties' news briefings, that of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] was preceded by special attention, if only because everyone was curious about developments regarding the six-party talks. Gabor Kereszty reports from the scene.

[Kereszty] The six-party talks must, by all means, end with an agreement, and the document signed by the parties must obligate the government to carry this out, Viktor Orban said. For this reason, FIDESZ does not consider it sufficient for the forum to be only a consultative process between the parties. In its reply, the Hungarian Socialist Party had proposed such a consultation. The FIDESZ interprets this as a rejection of the six-party forum. Although the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], in its letter sent last night, officially accepts the proposal for the talks, it also speaks of consultation. If an agreement were reached, after all, this could only serve as a recommendation vis-a-vis the National Assembly and the government, the MDF wrote in its letter. Nor is it acceptable that the MDF omitted economic issues from amongst the topics to be discussed, and would coordinate only social problems with the other parties. This at a time when economic issues constitute the most pressing problems in the country, is unacceptable, the FIDESZ chairman said. So far there has been no official reply from the Alliance of Free Democrats, but the FIDESZ trusts that the decision will come about on Saturday, and that the six-party talks might begin next Tuesday or Wednesday. Finally, the FIDESZ proposes several topics for the talks: economic, foreign policy, constitutional, self-government, and interest representation issues.

## President Walesa on Economy, Western Aid

*PM1104105091 Paris LIBERATION in French 9 Apr 91 pp 17-18*

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by Veronique Soule in Warsaw—date not given]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—[passage omitted] [Soule] During your campaign, you promised to speed things up. What we are seeing now, however, is continuity, particularly with the continuation of the Balcerowicz plan. When will you speed things up?

[Walesa] We are speeding things up a great deal where possible. The West is not keeping pace with us. It was we who eliminated visa requirements; it is we who are lifting the curtain while the West is lowering a financial curtain. It is we who are knocking on the West's door and saying we want to take part in processes; for example, we have opened our agricultural market. Go to the stores: You will see piles of Western goods. The West is incapable of following our faster pace.

Of course, on some domestic questions, we are not seeing a faster pace. Could the president speed things up when there was neither a prime minister nor a government? Was it the right time to speed things up when the prime minister and the government were in the process of finding out about the situation, and when they have only been in office for two months? The president is, therefore, acting in a logical and appropriate way. He is speeding things up where possible.

[Soule] You present the elimination of the visa requirement with the West and the reduction of the debt as a success. Was it the Mazowiecki government that started the negotiations?

[Walesa] Obviously. It was I who put Mazowiecki into that position; therefore, you can attribute that to me, to my presidential continuity, even though I was not president then.

[Soule] The government has been in office for three months. I repeat my question: When will things be speeded up?

[Walesa] Things should be put in a different way. We must change our economic system. Our enterprises were built on political foundations. At least 10 out of 100 need restructuring, possibly more. Let us stick to 10. Let us say that each produced part of a ship or a car. Their closure would make it impossible for us to build the ship or the car. We are making efforts to secure Western aid to restructure all that, but it is the West that is curbing my efforts to speed things up in the cooperation sphere. I can speed things up, but on the basis of cooperation with you—when we try to solve the problems of those enterprises together, when I sell you part of them, when I establish joint ventures with you.

People say: Where is the faster pace? But I cannot speed things up alone. I cannot afford to close those 10 or more enterprises because there would be chaos. I would only have my suit pants because I would have closed the enterprise that produced the jacket.

[Soule] During your campaign, you promised to make the Poles owners of Poland again. How do you intend to do that?

[Walesa] There is a minister in the government and his counterpart in my office (they are the ministers of the new Presidential Office created by Walesa—LIBERATION editor's note) who are working on privatizing and reprivatizing. It is a very complex problem. If you show me an opportunity for speeding things up, I will immediately do so. But tell me how! Take two houses: One was destroyed during the war, the other is still intact. Both were confiscated (by the Communists—LIBERATION editor's note). What should we return and to whom? Should we return nothing to the man whose house has been destroyed and give the other one his house back intact? Let us take the case of the Palace of Culture, which we sold to an American. The owner of the land came forward and is demanding the land, but he does not want the palace. What will I do? There is no way of handing back the land. Tell me what I should do?

[Soule] I have nothing to say. It was you who was elected.

[Walesa] It is you who are asking me to speed things up! I am willing to do it, but how?

[Soule] I am not asking you for anything. I am just saying what is in your program.

[Walesa] My program as a president is short: making people render account for the past. It is up to the government and the legislature, however, to do it legally. I cannot act as a dictator. I make demands, but they may or may not heed me.

[Soule] You now say that it is all complex. You have changed what you say.

[Walesa] You heard me in a different way during the campaign than now. The language of rallies is a specific one and the language of interviews is different, and you have not attended one of my rallies recently. So you cannot make a comparison. Moreover, I have not held a rally recently. Why? Because the government is not yet ready to tolerate my rallies. It is not yet sufficiently au fait with the situation. I cannot press them too hard because they (the ministers—LIBERATION editor's note) would abandon their posts, frightened by the burden of responsibilities.

You cannot say that Walesa has changed what he is saying. It is not true. But he is no longer attending rallies; he is talking to you madam, or to diplomats. You do that differently. So, do not compare my behavior in the bathroom with my behavior in the presidential palace.

[Soule] During your campaign, you said some unfortunate things about anti-Semitism. Do you regret them? You also said that there was no anti-Semitism in Poland

and you are now forming a committee to combat it. So is there or is there not anti-Semitism in Poland?

[Walesa] It is true that I used some unfortunate turns of phrase. It is also true that there is more anti-Semitism in France than in Poland. We heard the reports of graves, synagogues, and many other things being desecrated. This is not the issue. Anti-Semitism is repugnant wherever it occurs, but you must not just look at Poland. I did not set up the Council on Judeo-Polish relations just to combat anti-Semitism in Poland. I set it up in case it should occur. I also want to safeguard Jewish culture, and good relations with Polish Jews and Jews throughout the world.

[Soule] When the miners demonstrated at the Belweder you told them that their discontent was justified, but that you could not change the laws. Did you feel impotent and did you not fear you would become unpopular?

[Walesa] No. I am prepared to form a joint company with any French mine and I am counting on French positions that would go even further. The miners are right. They earn too little, but we have our reasons too. Our coal is too expensive. How can these viewpoints be reconciled? I am open to any proposals from the miners and to offers of cooperation in the mining industry from the West. The nation chose me to serve them. It is unfortunate that I cannot work miracles although I am a believer.

[Soule] In the international sphere, the negotiations on the withdrawal of Soviet troops have become complicated. How do you intend to settle the question during your forthcoming visit to Moscow?

[Walesa] I do not see the complexity. The deployment of Soviet troops in Poland is not profitable politically or economically, but that does not mean that the Soviets will be expelled from Poland. That would be unrealistic: The USSR is a military and nuclear superpower, despite the fact that its economy is in a notoriously bad state. We want peace in Europe and that will not be achieved by confrontation or expulsion. The USSR and Gorbachev are listening to our arguments and are presenting their arguments to us. We are making our viewpoint heard in those negotiations.

[Soule] Czechoslovak President Havel is achieving one international success after another, while Poland seems to be lagging behind. How do you explain that?

[Walesa] Different comparisons would be possible. We are not jealous of Havel. He is our friend. We are pleased when somebody in our camp scores points. It is an achievement for the revolution in our part of Europe. At first that revolution was a theory, it is now being put into practice. We need pratical solutions although we cannot ignore the theory. I ask you to take that into account. Moreover, in some respects I am in a better position than Havel, because I am here having this interview with you—it is not Havel who is talking to you. We could make other comparisons like that with Havel.

[Soule] Has anything surprised you since you became president?

[Walesa] So far, nothing.

## Government Aide on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

*PM1104151891 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 6-7 Apr 91 pp 1, 3*

[Kazimierz Netka report on news conference by General Zdzislaw Ostrowski, government plenipotentiary for the stationing of Soviet Armed Forces in Poland with unidentified reporters; place and date not given: "The Great Retreat: On Schedule or Not, It's Good News"]

[Text] "Our Armed Forces will return to the great Soviet superpower according to our own plans and along the routes chosen by them alone. We will be responsible solely for the life and safety of Soviet citizens involved." These words, spoken some time ago by General Dubinin, the USSR government plenipotentiary for the stationing of the Soviet Armed Forces in Poland, have lost none of their importance. As they make their way home from Poland, our eastern neighbor's armed forces wish to move in the land that lies on the Vistula like the proverbial cat: along their chosen routes and exactly when they think fit.

"The Soviets do not want to enter negotiations with the Polish side on the timetable for the withdrawal of their Armed Forces from our country," General Zdzislaw Ostrowski said. "The Soviet side has already begun to exercise its variants of withdrawing units of the Northern Group of the Soviet Armed Forces from Poland. This was announced on 11 March by the chief of staff of the USSR Armed Forces, General Moiseyev, and confirmed during the fifth round of talks between representatives of the Polish Republic and the USSR.

"This year the Soviets intend to withdraw some 30 different units, including missile, engineering, and Air Force units. The number of troops stationing in Poland will be reduced by almost one-fourth. During the year 1992, 35-40 percent of the Armed Forces will be removed from Polish territories, and the remainder will leave by the end of 1993.

"I want to strongly stress," Gen. Ostrowski said, "that this is not according to any agreed timetable of withdrawal of the Armed Forces. The withdrawal operations were started without the sides' having signed an intergovernmental agreement or worked out a detailed plan of action. Combat units should be the first ones to be removed, because they are socially and ecologically the most burdensome. Despite the lack of progress in the negotiations, we regard the removal of the Northern Group of the Soviet Armed Forces to the USSR as a positive development. According to an agreed schedule or not, it is very good news to us.

Between July 1989 and the present time, the following eight units left Poland: a training tank regiment from

Zielona Gora voivodship; a training antiaircraft missile regiment from Legnica; a part of the headquarters of the Western theater of war operations based in Legnica; an air force squadron from Brzeg; a landing assault brigade from Bialogard; an independent motor transport battalion from Swidnica; a motorized chemical battalion from Wroclaw; and some of the stores of the air-army based in Torun. We now have several garrisons in Poland where the consequences of World War II only ended a few weeks or even a few days ago."

"What is the progress of the talks on transit of the USSR troops from the territory of the former GDR?"

"On the basis of earlier agreements, the Soviet Union was entitled to lawful transit, which was in practical terms not restricted in any way," Gen. Ostrowski replied. "However, we recently introduced certain clearly defined restrictions there. We allow no more than three or four convoys every 24 hours. In exceptional cases we will allow transit to trains that could be regarded as part of the convoys about which we currently conduct negotiations. We make these concessions for humanitarian reasons. Minister Skubiszewski has suggested that it would be advisable to make our position more flexible."

[Reporter] Is it a regular and normal situation when the Polish defense minister is unable to ascertain what kinds of weapons the Soviets had here on our territory? After certain of their bases here were vacated, a number of bunkers were found that we had known nothing about; nor can anyone tell what they contained.

[Ostrowski] Such installations as, for example, the bunkers at Sypniewo, were not included in the records kept by the office of the government plenipotentiary for the stationing of the Soviet armed forces in Poland. We do not know what they contained, and we can only make tentative guesses. [Ostrowski ends]

"What is the size of the missile unit scheduled to be withdrawn next week? Can we really accept that the planned withdrawal of the Soviet forces has already begun in earnest?" a Western reporter asked.

"The unit in question is an operational tactical unit, capable of deploying both conventional and nuclear weapons," Gen. Ostrowski replied. "We will see it on 9 April. It has 1,000-1,200 servicemen. I can assure you that there are no nuclear weapons on Polish soil."

[Reporter] How can you be so sure?

[Ostrowski] I can trust my Soviet partner—that is, my opposite number in the Northern Group of Soviet Armed Forces, General Dubinin. The contents of the statements he has been making is another thing altogether. I simply must believe him—though I would not give my right arm for it... Besides, the National Defense Ministry has confirmed that there are no nuclear weapons in Poland.

[Reporter] What is the numerical strength of the Soviet forces in Poland?

[Ostrowski] At present there are about 50,000-52,000 Soviet servicemen in Poland. To this number you must add civilian employees and servicemen's families. Altogether, there are some 90,000 persons to be evacuated. In addition, there are 590 tanks, 800 transporters, 300 artillery pieces of the 100-mm-plus range, 40 helicopters, 201 combat airplanes, and 13 airfields (eight operational and five reserve airfields).

[Reporter] Does the register of all these different units include the resident representative of the GRU [State Intelligence Directorate], an organization considered no less than criminal in the West? Where will the units you mentioned be withdrawn to? It is certainly not a matter of indifference to us whether they are moved beyond the Urals, to Vladivostok, or to Brest, Lvov, or Kaliningrad. After all, Kaliningrad is closer to Warsaw than Legnica....

[Ostrowski] We must not interfere in the USSR's internal affairs. We do know that they are having enormous difficulties with relocating the units returning to the USSR under the withdrawal scheme. They are short of 200,000 housing units for the servicemen. Army families are accommodated in tents, which is the major reason for the delays. I would not seek some underlying political reasons here. Soviet representatives have repeatedly stressed that they saw no need to leave their military units in Poland.

We are doing all we can to get an agreement on Soviet troop withdrawal completed and signed. The Soviets want to negotiate with us only on the subject of financial evaluation of the facilities and installations they have erected here. We even plan to appeal to international institutions to help us ensure that the Soviets comply with Polish legislation in this matter—including the laws and regulations passed in recent years. Individual sectors have been collecting data and evidence on the extent of losses sustained by the Polish side as a result of the damage to property and the environment arising from the Soviet armed forces' stay in our country.

### Withdrawal, Transit Talks Resume

*LD1104213991 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] The sixth round of negotiations on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, and the transit of Soviet troops from Germany, has begun in Warsaw. During a meeting of the leaders of both delegations with Jerzy Makarczyk, secretary of state for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, matters relating to the date of withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland and the timetable for removing specific kinds of armaments were discussed. There was a clearly evident will on both sides to reach an agreement on this issue.

## 'Disastrously Low' Exports to USSR Reported

*LD1104193191 Warsaw PAP in English 1528 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Warsaw, April 11—Polish exports to the Soviet Union have been disastrously low since the beginning of the year, that is since the time Poland and the Soviet Union switched over in their trade to settlements in hard currencies and immediate payment, the GAZETA WYBORCZA daily wrote today.

The situation is paradoxical as Poland wants to export goods to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union wants to buy them but is not able to pay for them, and barter trade has been banned by Moscow.

In its negotiations with Moscow Poland wanted dollar clearings accompanied by balancing the turnover, which would make it possible to pay for the surplus in trade on whichever side it occurs, but Moscow would not agree to that.

Poland also argued for a gradual change in the principles of trade with the Soviet Union but Moscow would opt for a shock therapy expecting to get the necessary hard currency from its former Comecon [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] partner for its imports of gas and oil to repay its foreign debt.

On January 1, 1991, following Gorbachev's decree to this effect, Poland and the Soviet Union switched over to hard currencies and current payments in trade, which eventually turned out to be a disaster.

Poland used to export over a half of the total output of its electro-engineering industry to the Soviet Union and now several Polish factories are facing bankruptcy unable to sell their products to their traditional customers.

By the end of March Poland spent 300 million dollars for its imports from the Soviet Union, mostly for oil, and got only 20 million dollars in payment for Soviet exports to this country.

During the recent visit to Moscow paid by the Polish prime minister, Soviet officials admitted that the former Prime Minister Ryzkhov's cabinet had committed an error in this respect.

By the end of last year, the foreign trade surplus in Poland's trade with the Soviet Union amounted to 7.7 billion roubles.

Next week a Soviet delegation is coming to Warsaw to seek solutions to this problem, GAZETA WYBORCZA wrote.

## Civic Alliance Calls For Nonviolence at Rallies

*AU1104201991 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] We have received the following announcement: The Civic Alliance calls on participants in the manifestations that will take place tomorrow in Bucharest and in other parts of the country, starting at 15:00 hours local time, to observe the principle of nonviolence, a principle that is specific to the Civic Alliance. Likewise we request that in the event of possible incidents, the provokers should be identified and taken away from among our ranks. Only uniformed police agents and the Civic Alliance's order keeping forces are authorized to keep order.

In conclusion, the announcement reads: We request the Civic Alliance's order keeping persons to come at 14:00 local time to the established places to begin the demonstrations.

## FSN Condemns Civic Alliance's Planned Rallies

*AU1104201691 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] The National Salvation Front [FSN] Press Bureau issued a communique in which it notes that under the slogan "Reform and truth" the Civic Alliance is organizing a series of demonstrations and marches throughout the country tomorrow, 12 April. In an interview, the secretary of this apolitical organization [Civic Alliance] announced the political slogans under which the demonstration is going to take place: slogans asking for the resignation of the government, the resignation of the Parliament, the resignation of the president, and asking for early elections.

The FSN Press Bureau stresses the fact that the Civic Alliance is trying to find a new mantle for its political goals. To achieve this goal, the Civic Alliance states that the FSN reform program is a pseudo-reform and for the fist time it proposes a new program that includes eight claims. The FSN deems it necessary to note that the Civic Alliance's program is not a realistic but a contradictory program. The FSN believes that the Civic Alliance aims at political goals. To ask the simultaneous resignation of all the bodies of the state power is a political objective, says the release of the FSN Press Bureau. The FSN believes that tomorrow's demonstrations represent a continuation of the Civic Alliance politics of seeking contradiction by all means.

## Further on FSN Condemnation

*AU1204103191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2355 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/4/1991—The Civic Alliance announced for tomorrow [12 April] a series of meetings and marches throughout the country, a press release from FSN's [National Salvation Front's] press office reads, to be held under the motto "Reform and Truth," and that "apolitical" organization's secretary made known in an interview the political slogans which are to govern the rally: Government resignation, Parliament resignation, president resignation and early elections. Such slogans are not new, the press release points out. The Civic Alliance took them out into the street every time it thought it could use the country's difficulties to its own advantage.

But this time the Civic Alliance is trying to give a new attire to its political ends. It decided to reclaim the reform slogan. For that purpose it needs to declare that the National Salvation Front's reform is only a "pseudo-reform" and, for the first time, advance its own programme.

The National Salvation Front, the press release reads on, thinks it is necessary to show that the so-called 8-item programme of the Civic Alliance is neither serious nor realistic, that it is contradictory and, therefore, sheer demagogy.

The Civic Alliance demands, inter alia, that all state property be turned into private property at once. It pretends to be unaware that privatization is a component of the government's reform programme.

It ignores that on purpose and promises sudden wealth for everybody. It is both a false and a demagogic promise.

The Civic Alliance also protests against price liberalization, but none of the actions it proposes is apt to make prices drop; it never says a word about what it means to do about prices, for that matter.

If state-run farms are abolished, as the Civic Alliance demands, the press release stresses, prices for agricultural produce will rise, because state-run farms alone supply one third of the total agricultural production, and state prices are balancing the peasant market. But economic analysis has no place in the Civic Alliance's programme. Anyway, it is sheer demagogy to demand at the same time low food prices and the abolition of state-run farms.

Abolishing state-run farms and agricultural mechanization stations would immediately cause unemployment for the specialists and mechanics working there, the loss of billion-worth investments and, above all, giving up modern farming.

The Civic Alliance's other demands propose nothing. They just claim support for the youth, increase of pensions under 3000 lei and payment of handouts other than from production funds. It is a clear example of demagogy, because the Civic Alliance has nothing to say about how such things should be done.

Speaking of handouts, FSN's press release holds that FSN's reform programme provides for real social protection to the extent of the country's resources, and those

resources depend on how much the country produces. To do as the Civic Alliance protection: it would only lead to economic disaster.

Considering the leaders' statements and the slogans announced for Friday's meeting and march, the Civic Alliance seems rather to pursue political aims. To demand at the same time the resignation of all state power bodies is a political objective, the press release underlines, which, in a non-demagogical language, is called a coup d'etat. It would cancel the May 20 elections and give the power to someone else.

Economic and social effects are even more important. Political crisis would bring the whole reform process to a stop. Romania would fail to observe its international commitments and IMF's financial aid would cease. The national economy would be blocked.

The National Salvation Front appreciates that by the events planned for April 12 the Civic Alliance renews its policy of dispute by all means, making lying its principle and turning public disorder into an aim in itself.

### Article Calls For Government's Resignation

*AU1204100391 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Apr 91 p 1*

[Florin Gabriel Marculescu article: "Impeccable Logic"]

[Text] The television Current Events program on Wednesday, 3 April, presented stunning pictures of the latest government meeting. We were able to watch Prime Minister Roman, seized by pure rage, thundering away at those—institutions or individuals—who do not know or understand how, or do not want to do their duty, thus worsening the moral and material misery—into which we are gradually sinking with every passing day through their incompetence, complicity, or ill faith. The shelves in stores continue to be empty, and the Domestic Trade Department is blamed for this. It is not doing its duty. If that is how things stand, let us dissolve it. We are at the point of being stifled by corruption and profiteering. The Ministry of Finance, the Control Body, and the Economic Police are not doing their duty; they indulge in an embarrassing and, who knows, maybe even profitable passive attitude. Anyhow, they helplessly watch the dissipation in our economic jungle, although they have at their disposal piles of laws and codes by virtue of which they are bound to take prompt and effective action. They have not done so, however. Let us fire those who do not do their duty and let us call them to account in accordance with the law. Let us replace them with more honest people. We dissolve, dismiss, and replace immediately and ruthlessly. The situation we have reached no longer permits such a luxury as tolerance. I render justice to Mr. Roman, but I took the liberty of proceeding along the road of his impeccable logic by extending the applicability of the syllogism put into circulation. If we have reached this stage, it means that the government itself is not able to cope with the situation. If the prime minister does not know how to make himself be heard, then it means that he does not know what and how to ask his underlings either. It means that he does not have the minimum moral and professional authority that is supposed to compel recognition by the team he wants to discipline. Furthermore, if things are getting worse with every passing day, without the government being able to offer at least the hope that things will improve very soon, it means that the current government in its entirety is not doing its duty, that it is incompetent, and, in accordance with the logic to which it has adhered, we do not need it. It should resign en masse, beginning with the prime minister. His moaning falls on deaf ears and does not impress us. Logic, however, is impeccable and we have to follow its course.

### Roman, Miners Discuss Social Protection Program

*AU1204091191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2058 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/4/1991—Prime Minister Petre Roman together with Minister of State Adrian Severin met on Thursday afternoon leaders of the trade unions of the miners, except those from Valea Jiului [Jiu Valley]. Talks tackled claims concerning salary and handouts connected to price liberalization, funds of autonomous enterprises and commercial companies in the field being inadequate.

The prime minister said that the government could neither afford any additional subsidies nor approve any rise of those already in force as long as old mines kept inefficient—in fact, among the least productive in the world.

Premier Petre Roman asked the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection to urgently work out a special social protection programme for labour made available as a result of re-structuring in the mines and severely criticized the said ministry for having failed to do so before.

He called on a limited government session on Saturday, April 13, when final decisions would be made as to the possibilities of urgent re-structuring of mining activities, as well as to ending inefficient activities and ensuring adequate short- and long-term social protection.

## Republican Presidential Summit Communique Issued

*LD1104215491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2030 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Communique issued by the presidents of the republican presidencies in Brdo kod Kranja; date not given]

[Text] Brdo kod Kranja, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—The republican presidents—i.e. the presidents of the republican presidencies—continued their discussion in Brdo kod Kranja on the future relations between the Yugoslav nations—i.e. between the republics.

Two possible options for solving the state and political crisis became crystallized in the course of today's constructive talks:

—A federation of sovereign states;
—Yugoslavia as a united democratic federal state.

I. The republics of Slovenia and Croatia proposed that a possibility of setting up a community of sovereign states be based on the following principles:

1) The republics within the present SFRY are set up as independent and sovereign states.

2) The newly founded states recognize each other's state sovereignty status as entities under international law, as well as their territorial integrity within the framework of the existing borders between them within the present SFRY and also within the framework of the internationally recognized state borders of the present SFRY with neighboring states.

3) The community is based, first and foremost, on economic interests—i.e. on ensuring the joint market, on a possibility of customs and monetary unions. The joint market ensures that the free flow of commodities, services, capital, and manpower, as well as the protection of the environment.

4) The functioning of a joint market should make it easier for community members to become part of the European integration processes. A regional federation of states, created in such a way, must be compatible with the existing European integrations and modeled on the EC.

5) The community insures the defense and security interest of its members—i.e. protection from attacks from outside—in other words, the protection of the borders of all its member states.

6) The member states ensure all the human rights and freedoms of the individual as well as the rights of nations, ethnic communities, and other collective rights in keeping with regulations and principles of international law.

II. The presidents of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro advocated preserving Yugoslavia as a united and democratic federal state whereby its nations and republics would delegate a part of their sovereign rights to Yugoslavia, as the common state of the sovereign Yugoslav republics and nations, based on their shared interests that are established voluntarily and equitably and by agreement.

The presidents of the Republics of Croatia and Montenegro proposed, in the interests of preserving a unified and democratic Yugoslavia, that the structure of Yugoslavia as a state community should be based on the following principles:

1) The Yugoslav community is the state community of the sovereign Yugoslav nations and republics within which they exercise those functions on which they have voluntarily and freely agreed.

2) The sovereign Yugoslav nations and republics are equal in the Yugoslav state community and are entitled to equal rights and obligations—that is, their position is identical in relation to its common interests.

3) Beyond the sphere of the established functions of the Yugoslav state community, every Yugoslav nation and every Yugoslav republic is free to establish and exercise its other interests, while being bound by the mutual obligation that these interests cannot be aimed against, or carried out to the detriment of, any other Yugoslav nation or republic.

4) In exercising its established common interests, the Yugoslav state community's services decide and operate independently and efficiently in the interest of all the Yugoslav nations and republics. Certain, precisely defined, issues within the framework of shared interests are to be decided upon by agreement in the Yugoslav state community's services.

5) In the following areas there are interests shared by the sovereign Yugoslav nations and republics:

a) Rights and freedoms of the individual, citizen and nation;

b) Economic functions;

c) Defense and security;

d) Foreign affairs.

In all the aforementioned areas, apart from the functions established as shared interests which are exercised through the organs of the Yugoslav state community, all the other functions in these areas are exercised in the republics and through their services.

6) In the sphere of freedoms and rights for all citizens and members of the Yugoslav nations, all the freedoms and rights defined by the modern world's international documents are guaranteed and established at the level of the Yugoslav state community. These freedoms and rights are legally safeguarded by adequate services of the Yugoslav state community in an equitable and uniform way for all citizens and nations.

7) The common economic functions would fundamentally include the elements publicized following the SFRY Presidency session of 12 March this year.

8) In the Yugoslav state community, the Armed Forces exist in the form of joint armed forces incorporating certain services and branches as well as in the form of the Yugoslav republics' armed forces. All the Armed Forces are organized, trained, and shaped in such a way that they represent an operational whole if need be.

9) In the sphere of foreign affairs and international status, both Yugoslavia as a state community and the republics are entitled to international subjectivity and capacity in such a way that this subjectivity and capacity pertain in principle to Yugoslavia, particularly as far as multilateral organizations and obligations are concerned, while the republics are entitled to this subjectivity and capacity when they have regional, national, and cultural interests.

The presidents of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro repeated their stance that Yugoslavia exists as a federal state and that the Serbian and Montenegrin nations and the republics of Serbia and Montenegro are committed to continuing their coexistence in Yugoslavia.

III. The Macedonian stand on the divided concept of resolving the Yugoslav social crisis is as follows: The Yugoslav social crisis can be resolved by turning the presesnt Yugoslav state into a federation of sovereign states, taking the EC as a model, but on condition that this process is linked with political negotiations in the spheres of joint interests in such a future federation (the spheres of economic relations, defense, human rights, and the process of the transfer of international and legal entity). The process of creating the aforementioned federation of sovereign states should proceed through referendums in republics.

In the absence of such an agreement, it is necessary to make a further solution conditional on an agreement on mutual rights and responsibilities of republics such as they have been until now.

IV. As far as these two different concepts are concerned, the presidents agreed that—in keeping with democratic principles—such a crucial decision should be decided via referendas (plebiscites) in every republic. Given the seriousness of the political, constitutional and economic crisis, it was proposed that referendas (plebiscites) be held by the end of May this year at the latest. A joint group of experts will clarify all questions in connection with referendas (plebiscites) by the time the next meeting takes place.

V. The president of the Slovene Presidency told his colleagues that the Republic of Slovenia—in keeping with the results of the plebiscite that has already taken place—will become an independent and sovereign state. On the basis of reciprocity, Slovania is prepared to recognize the state entity, under international law, of all the republics of the present SFRY that either become independent and sovereign states or decide to remain part of the joint state.

Slovenia is willing to meet its obligations stemming from the period of its life in the common state, and it will prepare an adequate proposition to this effect in line with the resolution about its proposal for agreed dissociation; therefore, it will embark on the process of asserting its independence in federal services. The presidents of republics—that is, the presidents of presidencies—have agreed to suggest to their republican assemblies to discuss by the end of this month Slovenia's proposal for agreed dissociation, something that has already been adopted by the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia.

VI. The president of the Republic of Croatia announced that the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, which established Croatia as a sovereign state, obliged Croatia to embark on the moves necessary for dissociation from the existing SFRY by 30 June unless an agreement has been reached on solving the state and political crisis and creating and alliance of sovereign states.

VII. The problems in the relations between Serbia and Croatia—that is, Serbian-Croatian relations—should be resolved in the interest of their nations and republics. To this effect, the work of the mixed group formed by the presidents of the republics of Croatia and Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, started off successfully; furthermore, one can expect that the burden of disputed issues pressing the Yugoslav crisis will be reduced in the course of its work.

VIII. Mutual interests in a possible future community, as well as regulating the mutual rights and obligations stemming from the common life so far and the functioning of the common organs in the transition period will be discussed at the next session in Ohrid.

## Presidents' Meeting Focuses on Future Association

*LD1104161291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Statement by Marjan Siftar, director of Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan's office, and Miha Ribaric, Kucan's constitutional law adviser; place and date not given]

[Text] Brdo kod Kranja, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—The Republican presidents and Presidency presidents devoted particular attention in the morning session of their talks to a discussion of the character of a future community of sovereign republics and states.

The six presidents are discussing two concepts that were presented. The first—a possible community of sovereign republics that would have the character of a state—was expounded in greater length by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. The second concept—a community of

sovereign states—was explained and is supported by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Slovene President Milan Kucan.

The participants in today's meeting stressed again that the sovereign republics are the subjects in the search for a solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

Marjan Siftar stressed that the discussion took place in a notably tolerant and democratic atmosphere in which the focal point was the debate on the two concepts presented. Other issues were not discussed. Siftar told journalists it was stated that the economic situation is particularly complicated and serious, but there was no wider debate on this, and there was likewise no discussion of other current events.

In Ribaric's words it was clear from the discussion that Slovenia and Croatia are for a federation, i.e. a community of sovereign states. The Serbian president proposed a concept of a state community, which was completely out of the question as far as Slovenia and Croatia were concerned. Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia had not completely crystallized their stands by the end of the morning session. Ribaric said, but the president of Bosnia-Hercegovina thought that the Slovene and Croatian proposal would be acceptable during the transitional period. The Macedonian president, however, as Ribaric explained, insisted on establishing possible joint functions of the community, while the Croatian and Slovene presidents said very clearly that the federation such as it is now is out of the question.

A reply to the question whether Federal Executive Council President Markovic was mentioned during the talks was that this issue had not been discussed because no information on today's meeting between the federal and republican prime ministers had been received by the end of the morning session. What was discussed, however, was the referendum, said Ribaric, adding that all participants agreed that the referendum is a legitimate means for expressing and establishing the will of the people. There were differences on this issue, however, said Ribaric. Some believed that apart from the referendum in republics another one should be held on the basis of ethnic or national belonging. This proposal was resolutely rejected by those with a mixed national structure.

The Montenegrin president said that he recognizes the sovereignty of the republics and supports a community with state subjectivity. In Ribaric's words, this was identical to Milosevic's stand.

The participants in the meeting agreed that every nation had the right to self-determination; however, Ribaric said, Serbia believes that members of the Serbian nation outside Serbia have the same right, i.e. to decide where they wanted to live.

In conclusion, Siftar said that the talks had been truly tolerant and that differences had been established and attempts made to find what could link the present Yugoslav republics in the future. The differences are not being concealed. On the contrary, they are being recognized, and today's talks can in no way be described as a "dialogue of the deaf".

## Markovic, Republic Leaders View Problems

*LD1104165991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic talked today with the presidents and representatives of the republican governments and executive councils about the conditions for enabling the common state to function in the transition period.

Questions of joint monetary policies, restoring the flow of payments, curbing public and private spending with the limits set by the stabilization program, reviving the banking systems, lifting the republican decisions on splitting up the market, and of quick property transformation were discussed.

Issues regarding the federal budget for 1991, national defense, internal affairs, the future of the amendments to the Yugoslav constitution, and information policies remain to be discussed at the next meeting, scheduled for next week, the FEC Information Secretariat reports.

The FEC president cautioned his colleagues that the process of reforms has been halted since last autumn, which has fueled the exacerbation of social and economic relations in the country.

With the growing social tensions on top of that, it is clear that all of us are sitting on a powderkeg that will leave no one unscathed if it blows up.

As early as last October, having assessed that the reform was faltering, the FEC proposed the so-called minimum of the federation's functions in the form of 11 plus three common standpoints.

This government effort, however, just like the initiative of 18 months ago for passing amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution, did not gain concrete support on the part of the republican political structures, who kept on channelling nonexistent funds into public and personal spending, thus shrinking the ever-diminishing social product and avoiding their inevitable encounter with reality. The cost of this "policy", estimated at between $18 and $20 billion since the beginning of last year, is yet to be paid by the Yugoslav peoples.

Markovic stressed that the reforms must go on, otherwise the consequences of this will be catastrophic for all Yugoslav citizens and nations. Provided the government program of 11 plus three common standpoints is adopted, as well as a new macroeconomic policy, which will be proposed by the FEC to the Yugoslav Assembly by the end of next week, there are realistic chances that international financial institutions will provide concrete financial support, and in this way a way out of imminent

socioeconomic collapse will be secured. Otherwise the inevitable and inescapable consequences will have to be faced, Markovic said.

### Tudjman Urges Serbian-Croatian Talks

*LD1104224691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2107 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Brdo kod Kranja, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—Those extremists who are advocating the idea of the separation of some municipalities from Croatia and their annexation to Serbia are forgetting where Croatian borders were when it joined Yugoslavia in 1918, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said at today's news conference that, at that time, the borders stretched all the way to Zemun and included Boka.

The idea of the separation of some parts of Croatian territory only bears witness to the seriousness of the situation in the country and the vital need for far-reaching talks between representatives of the Serbian and Croatian people. I believe, stressed Tudjman, that we are all condemned to seek an agreement and that we will not make the earlier mistakes which have been leading to catastrophe.

### Tudjman Hopes Knin Issue Solved Politically

*LD1104225491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2112 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Brdo kod Kranja, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said at today's news conference: I hope that the issue of Knin will be solved by political means but, should it prove necessary, we will restore the threatened order by other means.

Asked by a journalist from PROBJEDA, with whom did he have contact from among the Serbian opposition, Tudjman replied that he was contacted both in the office and at home by one man from the Democratic Party and another one introducing himself as an assistant of Vuk Draskovic. Tudjman said: I told them that we did not wish to interfere and that we were for democratic transformation in Serbia.

### Croatian Government Warned on Court Riot

*LD0804172791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1627 GMT 8 Apr 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Apr (TANJUG)—TANJUG was requested today to carry information which the Information Department of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense [SSNO] is authorized to announce to the public. This statement by the SSNO Information Department reads:

Today, 8 April 1991, in connection with the beginning of the trial of Martin Spegelj and other persons accused of preparing and organizing an armed revolt in the Republic of Croatia, a hitherto unprecedented attack was carried out on the military facility of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] in which the military court in Zagreb is located.

Although they undertook the obligation to ensure the smooth work of the court for the whole period of the trial, the services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia did not prevent the gathering of demonstrations in front of the military court and their destructive behavior. During the attack, the safety of members of the JNA and of all those taking part in the proceedings, and of a large number of domestic and foreign journalists and other persons who were in the building, was threatened in a direct way. The military building has been seriously damaged and rendered unusable. The front of the building has been significantly damaged; 167 windows have been smashed; and 515 violently thrown objects (stones, metal bars, etc.) have been counted in the rooms of the court. Forty-seven such objects were found in the courtroom alone, and the office of the president of the court is unfit for use. During several hours of demonstrations and disorders, serious insults were constantly shouted at the JNA. The services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs not only failed to prevent this; some of them also took part in the provocation themselves.

The Republic of Croatia is requested to insure all conditions for the normal work of the military court in Zagreb and for the implementation of judicial proceedings, which were forcibly adjourned; and the initiators and organizers of the attacks on the military building of the JNA must be called to account in keeping with the law. The government of the Republic of Croatia is warned that unless it prevents attacks on military facilities and insures the conditions for the normal working of the military court in Zagreb, this will be done by the headquarters of the Fifth Military district with all available forces and means. It was stressed that all the consequences which could arise from this will be borne by the government of the Republic of Croatia.

The SSNO has informed the SFRY Presidency about the brutal attack on the military facility and the unprecedented hampering of court proceedings, which were initiated on the basis of the law and in keeping with the conclusion of the SFRY Presidency itself that instead of the complete implementation of its order of 9 January a detailed discussion should be held on the criminal responsibility of the accused.

### Zagreb Reports Rail Lines Mined in Knin

*LD1104154391 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] According to information obtained from the Knin rail station, the Knin-Zadar rail line between the villages of Kosovo and Siveric has been mined at two places, and rail lines between the villages of Zrmanja and (Mali Bani) and the villages of Srtumica and (Bosanski Drenovac) at three places. This put an end to all efforts of the Croatian Railways Community to reestablish regular freight and passenger train traffic. The trains are running normally only

on the Drnis-Split and Berkovic-Sibenik rail lines The Zadar-Benkova rail line has been reopened for trains. The Vinkovci-Borovo-Dalj rail line is still closed for traffic, and trains are being redirected via Osijek.

## President Zelenovic Addresses Serbian Assembly

*AU1104142891 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0847 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Speech by Serbian Government President Dragutin Zelenovic to the Serbian Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In considering.... In considering [Zelenovic repeats himself] the project of the setup, the territorial setup, organization, and management of processes in our republic, and bearing in mind certain restrictions of our new Constitution, we took the view that it is possible to make such an approach that, in the sphere of the management of the republic, would be conducted at three levels. The first level is the level of communes—all the existing communes in our republics represent groups of cadastre communes, as have been regulated so far.

The second level are districts [okrug]. A district represents a group of a certain number of communes. Districts would have a chief [nacelnik] of the district or a republican secretary for a particular district, who would be the extended hand of the government, and through whom the government would act from every ministry via this district on the communes and settlements [naselje].

The third level is the republic. The third level is the republic [Zelenovic repeats himself] which would... [Zelenovic corrects himself] whose services, government, and ministries would act throughout the republic—all ministries, as shown here [pointing to something], from the republic, via districts, to communes, and via communes to settlements.

This simplified form of the three levels, bearing in mind the elaborated approach in the theory of the organization of all systems, the reduction of the number of levels to the necessary minimum—we think that this is now the necessary minimum—would allow an efficient way to manage the republic in the sense of giving orders via districts to communes and settlements and in the sense of receiving feedback in the same way for the statistical information system of the republic, which would process the basic information for easier management of the republic.

When I mentioned certain restrictions—which in my view exist, but this does not have to be correct—these restrictions in the Constitution refer to the autonomous provinces, which are defined by the Constitution, and which would have a clearly defined representative function, cultural autonomy, and which would have only the necessary minimum of services. For instance, the executive council of a province would have a secretary for culture of different nationalities, a secretary for the education of different nationalities, and so forth. Outside this, and some other functions.... [Zelenovic corrects himself] Outside this, the entire process would be conducted directly, that means from the minister to here. In the sense we have set up, in the sense of a such a scheme, we made a proposal that is being discussed and which is shown on the diagram over there, which can be seen. This is the first preliminary proposal about the organization of districts in the republic. In doing so, we have used the approach, a well developed approach in central Serbia, a regional approach, and there are a number of regions in central Serbia that we have more or less turned into districts, which we tried to turn into districts. In Vojvodina, we have created three new districts: Backa, Banat, and Srem. In Kosovo there are two districts: Metohija and Kosovo.

We will discuss the borders of districts and where certain communes belong within the elaboration of this project and law on the territorial setup. At present this is not so important.

We wanted to achieve the following: First, that all, that.... [Zelenovic changes thought] Bearing in mind the need to level people's living conditions in our republic, a district must first of all have all the necessary elements for a better life for the population. This means that the main towns of a district should have an established theater, a sufficient number of cultural institutions, good grammar schools, and so forth.

We proposed in the law—on which I must say there are differing views—we proposed that district places [mesto]—bearing in mind that these places in the districts or regions have hitherto had portions of taxes, have retained portions of taxes for this development, taxes that provide these institutions for the people so they all do not have to rush to Belgrade—that these district places be proclaimed towns, and retain a part of taxes and contributions for their own development. This means that one day, let us say in some 15 or 20 years, district places would be turned into the kind of properly-planned towns that would provide a high quality of life as exists in a number of western countries, such as Switzerland, or Italy, and so forth, so a person would perhaps only need to go from his settlement to his commune or from his commune to the district, but that there is really no need for him to go further afield, unless he needs to go to the supreme court in Belgrade, which would be the only such court in the republic. There is no other need to move and leave... [Zelenovic changes thought] to reduce this mass migration of the population from one part to another.

Regarding other elements, we think that other [word indistinct] elements, that is the borders of the districts—we will discuss these later during the formulation of the law. In the organizational sense, this approach will enable us to be efficient, bearing in mind that we will introduce into communes a computer system with a data base on (?land registry), market, population, and so forth at the communal level, and have a data base in every commune about places on its territory. We will have a computer system at the communal level that will have an accurate data base about

everything in this district and this system will be linked directly to the system in the federal institute for statistics that has already been set up and can take all this. In this way, it seems to us that the adoption.... [Zelenovic changes thought]. I apologize, I meant the republican institute for statistics, which is the biggest and best equipped institute in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

### Milosevic: No Discussions on Territorial Integrity

*LD1104211191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2031 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Brdo kod Kranja, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—There is only one issue that cannot be discussed with the Albanians who live in the Republic of Serbia, and that is the republic's territoral integrity, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic told a news conference.

Replying to a CNN reporter's question—when will civilized talks start with representatives of the 3 million Albanians—he stressed that everything else can be discussed with them at any moment.

### Paper To Join Ranks of 'Independent' Weeklies

*LD2903122591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1114 GMT 29 Mar 91*

[Text] Belgrade, March 29 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade weekly NIN on Friday came out with a—"NIN Freed"—across the front page in bold letters.

NIN's editor-in-chief and the editorial board have been relieved, so that, as set out in the editorial by new acting Editor-in-Chief Velizar Zecevic, "its liberated word and the spirit of truth-loving and tolerance be restored."

In the text, headlined "Fall of a Bastille", the editorial staff of this, as of today independent weekly, explains that for the first time after several years NIN's workers' council elected the editor- in-chief from among its own, journalists', ranks and that the staff succeeded in winning free-thinking journalism, independent from diktat of political forums.

The changes in the media in the Republic of Serbia began with the resignations of the Director of Belgrade Radio-Television Dusan Mitevic and four television editors, following March 9 demonstrations and March 10-13 student protests, in which one of the requests was securing full freedom of the press.

### Slovene President Wants Response on Dissociation

*LD1104162591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1519 GMT 11 Apr 91*

[Text] Kranj, April 11 (TANJUG)—Slovenia will demand at today's meeting of the six Yugoslav republican leaders a precise response to its initiative on an agreed dissociation of the existing state, President of the Slovenian parliament Franc Bucar has said.

Bucar recalled at a press conference in Kranj, Slovenia, where the presidents are meeting, that the resolution on the agreed dissociation of Yugoslavia has been upheld so far by Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, while the other republics have yet to respond.

Slovenia, according to Bucar, will "become an independent and autonomous state", but this does not mean it refuses to talk about the future organization of the country.

Bucar said that the republic "cannot and will not give up" its stand, since it has been obliged to do so by last December's plebiscite at which Slovenes opted for autonomy.

Asked what he thought about the lack of support of the West to Slovenia's independence, Bucar replied that Slovenia regards these warnings seriously. "We have assessed that we will have difficulties, but we will overcome them", added Bucar.

Bucar underscored that Slovenia insists that the Yugoslav Army renounce its political role and that it is "ready to discuss its share in financing the Army, but not to invest in its further modernization and expansion."

Commenting on the beginning of talks between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, Bucar set out that they were the fundamental condition for resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

### Slovene Foreign Minister on Planned Referendums

*AU1204135091 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 12 Apr 91*

[Bettina Reutter report on news conference by Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel with unidentified reporters in Vienna on 12 April—Rupel statement in English]

[Text] We have reached a stage now in which one can hope for a peaceful solution to the crisis, Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel stated today. Yugoslavia will be divided into two or three states. It cannot be preserved in its current form. This is clear to Rupel after yesterday's decision by the six presidents of the republics to hold referendums in the individual republics by the end of May. Slovenia, which carried out a referendum as early as in December and voted for independence, will declare its sovereignty on 26 June, no matter what decision the other republics will make. Rupel made this very clear.

In Serbia the regulations for the referendum will have to be observed as well, Rupel stressed in his official capacity as Slovene minister and not as professor of sociology.

[Begin Rupel recording] Obviously, Serbia has to be given a chance, and we can expect that the procedures and the rules and democratic norms will be respected. [end recording]

For Serbian President Milosevic only the question as to whether the referendum is to be carried out on the basis of republics or ethnic groups is of great importance, because of the numerous Serbs living in other republics. Their vote might be lost for Serbia if they participate in referendums in other republics, Rupel believes. Rupel advocates, however, that the referendums be held within the republics.

Once one starts changing borders, one is bound to have real problems, Rupel stressed. The problem will be solved somehow in the end. Even if a referendum is held in Croatia, it is clear how the Serbs in Knin and other places will vote. Milosevic, however, is apparently concerned about these people. If one looks at Bosnia, there are over 30 percent of Serbs. In my view, the Serbs in Bosnia would not automatically vote for the Milosevic regime. They would rather leave the Bosnian republic unchanged. Analogously, the Croatian Serbs might want to stay in Croatia as well. Just compare the economic situation of Croatia and Serbia. Milosevic does not have methodological but political problems.

Referring to Slovenia's independence, Foreign Minister Rupel stressed that its costs have been calculated precisely. Independence is much cheaper for Slovenia than integration into Yugoslavia. The sums that Slovenia has to provide for huge projects in the military sphere, for example, are enormous. This megalomania must be stopped. Once megalomania is overcome, a proper, modest, and sensible state can be built for much less money than Slovenia is contributing now to the federal budget, Rupel stressed. As far as the payment of parts of Yugoslavia's debts by an independent Slovenia is concerned, talks must be held, Rupel indicated.

### Rupel on EC Reservations

*AU1204142191 Vienna KURIER in German 12 Apr 91 p 3*

[Ingrid Steiner report: "I Do Not Know Whether Europe Is Playing with Us"]

[Text] Hectic preparations for Slovene independence are under way: Prior to its planned declaration of sovereignty on 26 June, the republic is strengthening its efforts for international recognition. During a lightning visit to Vienna, Slovenia's Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel briefed leading Austrian officials on the countdown for independence. Ingrid Steiner interviewed him on reservations on the part of the EC toward the independence efforts of the Yugoslav republics:

"The EC fears that our part of the world is too unstable for joint trade and communication. The situation, however, cannot become more unstable than it is at the moment. The government in Ljubljana has handed over an official document to the EC designed to eliminate the prevailing misunderstandings. Slovenia wants to help the EC safeguard its interests. This means that the EC funds should no longer disappear in a black hole. Yugoslavia is this black hole. If the EC continues to stress Yugoslav unity, it will only strengthen the central authorities and thus the Army. I do not know whether the European states are playing with us."

—On the possible resignation of Yugoslav Prime Minister Markovic:

"I see Markovic's role only as that of the administrator of Yugoslavia's bankruptcy. Another person could fulfill this task as well. Slovenia does not see a chance for a new federal government."

—On the issuance of Slovene passports:

"Only the coat of arms is still missing on our passports. Their issuance depends on the date of Slovenia's international recognition. On the day of our independence, on 26 June, we will first ask our neighbors, including Austria, to recognize our state."

### Slovene Economic Minister on Unemployment

*AU1204085191 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0500 GMT 12 Apr 91*

[Gerhard Seifried report on interview with Slovene Economic Minister Joze Mencinger with unidentified reporters in Klagenfurt on 11 April—Mencinger statements in Slovene with subsequent German translation]

[Text] The privatization law that has long been discussed is to be adopted by the legislature in Ljubljana in May. Mencinger links his political future to this step. If the law is not adopted, he will resign. This is taking place against the following background: Officially, the number of unemployed persons has reached 60,000, which corresponds to a rate of over 7 percent. So far, nobody has yet declared in public that one-third of the population in Slovenia, the most advanced republic in Yugoslavia, might be reduced to poverty. Even optimistic assessments by the government, however, foresee at least 120,000 unemployed persons next year. In the past, the Slovenes were not faced with high unemployment rates, Mencinger stressed. I am in the position of the manager of a bankrupt company, which is called the Slovene economy, he once stated.

Slovenia's export-oriented economy has suffered particularly from the hard dinar course, obstinately pursued by the head of the Yugoslav Government, the Croat Ante Markovic, who has so far succeeded in surviving politically. Rumors have recently grown stronger that the presidents of the individual republics are aiming for Markovic's removal. According to Mencinger, Markovic's days are numbered.

[Begin Mencinger recording] One cannot say exactly how many weeks Markovic will still remain in office. There is

no doubt that he is a very smart politician. I believe that in the past, however, he made the mistake of focusing more on politics than on Yugoslavia's economy. No politician can survive in the long run if he pursues such a policy. Personally I know him very well, and I have a good relationship with him. I believe his main mistake is that he does not want to see that Yugoslavia has already disintegrated economically. [end recording]

As a matter of fact, a united Yugoslavia has long ceased to exist because of the restructuring of the economic systems in Slovenia and Croatia as well as Serbia's insistence on the planned economy, Mencinger pointed out. In the event of Slovenia's secession, he expects big problems in connection with the allocation of Yugoslavia's assets and its debts amounting to $16 million.

[Begin Mencinger recording] Slovenia has always tried to arrive at a solution on the basis of mutual agreement. I believe that it will be very difficult to arrive at a mutual solution on financial issues. If we should not achieve a solution by mutual agreement, we will have to jump into a pool—to use a graphic term—without knowing how deep the water is. [end recording]

Slovenia is not sure whether there is any water at all in the pool.